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SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-1794

EDITED BY

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

POST WAR DECADE, 1782-1791



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SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-1794  
TRANSLATIONS OF MATERIALS  
FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES  
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PART II: POST WAR DECADE, 1782-1791

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EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTIONS  
BY

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

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# CONTENTS

	Page
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION .....	xi
DOCUMENTS .....	
Commercial Privileges Granted to Louisiana and West Florida, January 22, 1782 .....	1
Pollock to Miró, February 27, 1782.....	5
Grand-Pré to Miró, April 2, 1782.....	6
Rodgers to Pollock, 1782.....	7
Affidavit by Pollock [No date].....	8
Examination of Pollock's Commission from Jefferson, April 20, 1782....	8
Pollock to Miró, April 27, 1782.....	11
Sale of Property Belonging to English Prisoners, May 6, 1782.....	12
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 6, 1782.....	13
Gálvez to Grimarest, May 14, 1782.....	14
Discontent Among the Talapoosa [No date].....	14
Labbadie to Miró, May 22, 1782.....	15
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 26, 1782.....	16
Navarro to Gálvez, June 4, 1782.....	18
Grimarest to Payemataha, June 11, 1782.....	20
Maxent to Piernas, June 16, 1782.....	20
Declaration of Labbadie, July 5, 1782.....	21
Reports of British Plans to Attack Spanish Illinois, July 8, 1782.....	34
Council of War Held at St. Louis, July 9, 1782.....	39
Council of War at St. Louis, July 9, 1782.....	42
Cruzat to Miró, July [9], 1782.....	47
Gibault to Miró, July 29, 1782.....	47
Cruzat to Officials of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, August 4, 1782.....	48
Cruzat to [Miró], August 5, 1782.....	49
Cruzat to Miró, August 8, 1782.....	49
Grimarest to Cagigal, August 22, 1782.....	54
Cagigal to Miró, August 30, 1782.....	55
Pollock to Miró, September 4, 1782.....	55
Inhabitants of Tanchipihó to the Commandant of New Orleans, September 8, 1782.....	56
Report on the Mission of Paulous to the Chickasaws [September, 1782]..	57
O'Neill to Cagigal, September 23, 1782.....	58
Palao to Miró, September 23, 1782.....	58
Maxent to Boulogny, September 24, 1782.....	59
Colburt to Miró, October 6, 1782.....	60
Resolution of Congress Relative to Pollock's Accounts, October 22, 1782	61
Spanish Overtures to the Chickasaws, October 24, 1782.....	61
Piernas to Miró, October 28, 1782.....	62
Mrs. Pollock to Miró, October 29, 1782.....	63
Hanson to Miró, October 31, 1782.....	63
Pollock to Miró, November 1, 1782.....	64
Mrs. Pollock to Miró, November 12, 1782.....	64
Piernas to Miró, November 23, 1782.....	65
Navarro to Gálvez, December 4, 1782.....	66
Maxtent to Miró, December 5, 1782.....	67

Resolution of Virginia House of Delegates, December 27, 1782.....	68
Cabello to Piernas, January 13, 1783.....	69
Mrs. Pollock to Gentlemen of the Council, January 26, 1783.....	71
Boudinot to Miró, March 3, 1783.....	71
Report of New British Campaign, March 9, 1783.....	71
Departure of St. Germain from the Yazoo, March 11, 1783.....	74
Piernas to Miró, March 23, 1783.....	74
Pollock to Miró, April 10, 1783.....	75
Virginia Congressional Delegates to Gálvez, May 4, 1783.....	76
Damal to Governor of Louisiana, July 4, 1783.....	76
Pollock to Miró, August 8, 1783.....	77
Pollock to Miró, August 18, 1783.....	77
Cyrillo to Miró, August 27, 1783.....	78
Gálvez to Miró, September 12, 1783.....	79
Mrs. Pollock to Miró, 1783.....	79
Miró to Mrs. Pollock, September 13, 1783.....	79
Mrs. Pollock to Miró, September 13, 1783.....	80
Cabello to Governor of Louisiana, September 20, 1783.....	80
Cabello to Miró, September 21, 1783.....	86
Miró to Pollock, October 8, 1783.....	87
Pollock's Debts in Louisiana, [No date].....	88
Treviño to Miró, October 18, 1783.....	88
Pollock to Miró, October 24, 1783.....	89
Du Breuil to Miró, November 8, 1783.....	89
Pollock to Miró, November 10, 1783.....	91
Favre to Tugean, November 25, 1783.....	92
Robinson to Commandant of Natchez, December 7, 1783.....	93
Cabello to Governor of Louisiana, December 15, 1783.....	94
Neve to Miró, December 18, 1783.....	95
Bellecombe to Campbell, January 14, 1784.....	96
Miró to Gálvez, January 15, 1784.....	97
Zéspedes to Gálvez, March 3, 1784.....	100
McGillivray to Miró, May 1, 1784.....	101
Campbell to Miró, May 1, 1784.....	102
Rations Given to Indians at Congress of Mobile, June 24, 1784.....	102
Reduction of Tariff, August 5, 1784.....	107
Zéspedes to Gálvez, August 16, 1784.....	108
Cruzat to Miró, August 23, 1784.....	117
Del Campo to Floridablanca, December 11, 1784.....	119
An Act Creating Bourbon County, February 7, 1785.....	120
Justices of the Peace for Bourbon County, Georgia, February 8, 1785..	122
Gálvez to Miró, March 4, 1785.....	123
Gálvez to Miró, April 6, 1785.....	124
Henry to Miró, April 16, 1785.....	124
Gálvez to Miró, April 23, 1785.....	125
Rengel to Governor of Louisiana, April 27, 1785.....	125
Gálvez to Miró, April 30, 1785.....	126
Provision for Transportation of Acadians from France to Louisiana, May 12, 1785.....	127
Rousseau Appointed Commandant of Natchitoches, July 4, 1785.....	131
Cruzat to Miró, August 13, 1785.....	133
Chacheré to Treviño, August 14, 1785.....	135



Boulligny to Miró, August 22, 1785.....	136
Boulligny to Miró, August 28, 1785.....	143
Letter by Long, Davenport and Christmas, September 2, 1785.....	145
Chacheré to Treviño, September 5, 1785.....	146
Green to Bledso, September 10, 1785.....	147
Boulligny to Miró, October 12, 1785.....	148
Long, Davenport and Christmas to Miró, October 13, 1785.....	149
Orders in Regard to Sale of Liquor, October 14, 1785.....	150
Chacheré to [Boulligny], November 7, 1785.....	151
Favre to [Boulligny], November 8, 1785.....	154
Boulligny to Miró, November 13, 1785.....	155
Cruzat to Miró, November 25, 1785.....	156
Cruzat to Miró, December 4, 1785.....	157
Boulligny to Miró, December 12, 1785.....	158
A Description of Louisiana, December 12, 1785.....	159
Lorty for Bougau, December 28, 1785.....	167
Gálvez to Miró, January 22, 1786.....	168
Report on Acadian Immigrants Who Came to Louisiana from France in 1786 .....	169
Miró to Cruzat, March 5, 1786.....	170
Cruzat to Vasquez, March 10, 1786.....	170
Miró to Cruzat, March 24, 1786.....	171
Favrot to Miró, May 30, 1786.....	173
Cruzat to Miró, July 19, 1786.....	173
Le Gras to Clark, July 22, 1786.....	175
Miró to Gálvez, August 1, 1786.....	182
Muttishico to Miró, August 5, 1786.....	185
Cruzat to Miró, August 23, 1786 (No. 74).....	185
Cruzat to Miró, August 23, 1786 (No. 75).....	186
Du Breuil to Cruzat, October 25, 1786.....	187
McGillivray to Favrot, November 8, 1786.....	188
Linder to Favrot, November 13, 1786.....	189
Report of Bauvais Concerning Clark, November 15, 1786.....	190
Report by Pratte on Activities of Clark, November 24, 1786.....	191
Cruzat to Miró, December 2, 1786.....	192
Du Breuil to Miró, December 16, 1786.....	193
Expenses of Mission to the Osage, December 16, 1786.....	194
Du Breuil to Miró, December 29, 1786.....	195
Miró to Du Breuil, January 25, 1787.....	197
Rousseau and De Blanc to Miró, March 20, 1787.....	198
Bernard to the Grand Vicar, April 27, 1787.....	199
Valliere to Miró, April 29, 1787.....	200
Miró to Cruzat, May 15, 1787.....	201
Filhiol to De Blanc, May 18, 1787.....	203
Investigation Concerning Sale of Liquor at Arkansas Post to the Abena- quis, May 19, 1787.....	203
Statement of Expenses of the Province of Louisiana, May 31, 1787.....	209
Grand-Pré to Miró, June 1, 1787.....	210
Forstall to Miró, June 10, 1787.....	212
Investigation of Benito Vasquez' Activities Among the Great Osage, June 22, 1787.....	213
Franklin to Indian Delegation, June 30, 1787.....	229

	Page
Cruzat to Miró, July 29, 1787.....	230
Rivas to Miró, August 13, 1787.....	231
Peña to Miró, August 17, 1787.....	232
Villiers to Miró, August 30, 1787.....	233
Peña to Miró, September 22, 1787.....	234
Balderas to Miró, October 8, 1787.....	235
Grand-Pré to Miró, October 26, 1787.....	236
Miró to Navarro, January 29, 1788.....	237
Establishment of Observation Post on the Mississippi Below the Arkansas, January 30, 1788.....	239
Miró to Perez, February 15, 1788.....	241
Miró to Valliere, February 16, 1788.....	242
Valliere to Miró, February 23, 1788.....	242
Perez to Miró, February 27, 1788.....	244
Peyroux to Miró, March 8, 1788.....	245
Peyroux to Miró, March 12, 1788.....	246
Valliere to Miró, March 14, 1788.....	247
Grand-Pré to Miró, March 19, 1788.....	250
Valliere to Miró, March 30, 1788.....	251
Notices Posted at Kaskaskia, April 7, 1788.....	252
Perez to Miró, April 18, 1788.....	253
Alvarez to Perez, May 10, 1788.....	254
Perez to Miró, May 31, 1788.....	255
De Blanc to Miró, June 17, 1788.....	256
Prohibition of Trade with Texas, June 24, 1788.....	256
Report of Americans Arriving at Natchez, July 5, 1788.....	257
Hay to Miró, July 30.....	258
De Blanc to Miró, August 5, 1788 (No. 35).....	259
De Blanc to Miró, August 5, 1788 (No. 36).....	259
Perez to Miró, November 15, 1788.....	260
Perez to Miró, November 18, 1788.....	261
Hutchins to Clark, December 20, 1788.....	263
Report of Americans Arriving at Natchez, December 31, 1788.....	264
Proclamation by General St. Clair, January 22, 1789.....	265
Valdes to Captain General of Louisiana and Florida, January 24, 1789.....	266
Passport of Josef Diepa, February 10, 1789.....	267
White to Miró, April 18, 1789.....	267
Miró to Robertson, April 20, 1789.....	268
Miró's Offer to Western Americans, April 20, 1789.....	269
Valdes to Captain General of Florida, April 21, 1789.....	271
Land Grant in Morgan's Colony, April 25, 1789.....	271
Miró to Smith, April 27, 1789.....	272
Petition of People of Arkansas to Declare War on the Osage, May 8, 1789.....	273
Americans of New Madrid to Perez, May 30, 1789.....	274
Valdes to Captain General of Louisiana and Florida, June 3, 1789.....	275
Perez to Miró, June 8, 1789.....	275
Valdes to Captain General of Louisiana and Florida, June 30, 1789.....	276
Proclamation by Commandant of New Madrid, August 1, 1789.....	277
De Blanc to Miró, August 11, 1789.....	278
Robertson to Miró, September 2, 1789.....	279
Valliere to Filhiol, September 10, 1789.....	280
De Blanc to Miró, September 30, 1789.....	281

McGillivray to Panton, October 8, 1789.....	282
Perez to Miró, October 8, 1789 (No. 99).....	284
Perez to Miró, October 8, 1789 (No. 100).....	285
Perez Warns the Chiefs of the Great Osage [No date].....	286
Perez to Miró, October 10, 1789.....	288
Lang to Biddle, October 20, 1789.....	289
White to Miró, October 23, 1789.....	289
Immigrants from the United States [No date].....	290
Grand-Pré to Miró, January 4, 1790.....	291
Grand-Pré to Miró, January 10, 1790.....	291
Valliere to Miró, January 12, 1790.....	292
De Blanc to Miró, January 15, 1790.....	294
Le Blanc to Miró, January 15, 1790.....	294
De Blanc to Miró, January 20, 1790.....	295
White to Miró, January 21, 1790.....	297
O'Neill to Miró, January 26, 1790.....	297
Grand-Pré to Miró, February 23, 1790.....	299
Grand-Pré to Miró, February 23, 1790.....	300
De Blanc to Miró, February 23, 1790.....	301
Foucher to Miró, March 1, 1790.....	305
Grand-Pré to Miró, March 2, 1790.....	305
Valliere to Miró, March 3, 1790.....	312
Perez to Miró, March 7, 1790.....	312
Grand-Pré to Miró, March 12, 1790.....	313
Filhiol to Miró, March 16, 1790.....	314
Bruce to Miró, March 24, 1790.....	315
Perez to Miró, March 24, 1790.....	315
De Blanc to Miró, March 27, 1790.....	316
Plan for American Settlement at Chickasaw Bluffs, April 3, 1790.....	317
Martínez Pacheco to De Blanc, April 6, 1790.....	321
Martínez Pacheco to De Blanc, April 6, 1790.....	322
Foucher to Miró, April 13, 1790.....	322
Grand-Pré to Miró, April 14, 1790.....	323
Foucher to Miró, April 15, 1790.....	325
De Blanc to Miró, April 16, 1790.....	326
Grand-Pré to Miró, April 22, 1790.....	326
Grand-Pré to Miró, April 24, 1790.....	328
Valliere to Miró, April 27, 1790.....	331
Grand-Pré to Miró, April 30, 1790.....	333
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 4, 1790.....	334
De Blanc to Miró, May 4, 1790.....	335
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 5, 1790.....	335
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 8, 1790.....	336
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 8, 1790.....	337
O'Fallon to Bruin, May 13, 1790.....	338
O'Fallon to Bruin, May 13, 1790.....	338
O'Fallon to Miró, May 13, 1790.....	341
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 16, 1790.....	342
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 16, 1790.....	343
Campo de Alange to Governor of Louisiana, May 24, 1790.....	345
Grand-Pré to Miró, May 25, 1790.....	345
Forbes to O'Neill, May 27, 1790.....	348

Perez to Miró, May 29, 1790.....	348
Grand-Pré to Miró, June 10, 1790.....	349
De Blanc to Miró, June 15, 1790.....	350
Campo de Alange to Governor of Havana, June 19, 1790.....	351
Grand-Pré to Miró, June 22, 1790.....	351
Bruin to Miró and Gayoso de Lemos, June 27, 1790.....	354
Grand-Pré to Miró, June 28, 1790.....	355
Grand-Pré to Miró, June 28, 1790.....	355
O'Fallon to Miró, July 16, 1790.....	357
Indian Council Held at New Madrid, July 30, 1790.....	364
Grand-Pré to Miró, July 31, 1790.....	368
Delino to Miró, August 2, 1790.....	369
Perez to Miró, August 6, 1790.....	370
Foucher to Miró, August 9, 1790.....	371
Miró to Porlier, August 10, 1790.....	375
Panton to the Governor of Pensacola, August 13, 1790.....	375
Barcelona to Miró, August 23, 1790.....	377
De Blanc to Miró, September 2, 1790.....	377
Perez to Miró, September 10, 1790.....	378
Miró to O'Fallon, September 30, 1790.....	379
Miró to O'Fallon, September 30, 1790.....	380
Grand-Pré to Miró, October 2, 1790.....	382
Pauli to Miró, 1790.....	384
Foucher to Miró, October 18, 1790.....	384
Foucher to Miró, October 20, 1790.....	385
White to Miró, October 23, 1790.....	385
Foucher to Miró, October 25, 1790.....	386
Perez to Miró, October 27, 1790.....	388
Forbes to O'Neill, November 4, 1790.....	389
Grand-Pré to Miró, November 12, 1790.....	389
Foucher to Miró, November 15, 1790.....	389
Harmar to Todd and Johnson, November 29, 1790.....	391
Perez to Miró, December 4, 1790 (No. 164).....	392
Perez to Miró, December 4, 1790 (No. 165).....	393
Foucher to Miró, December 12, 1790.....	393
O'Fallon to Bruin, December 17, 1790.....	395
O'Fallon to Phelan, December 17, 1790.....	395
O'Fallon to Bruin, December 21, 1790.....	398
First Settlers of New Madrid, December 31, 1790.....	
Proposed Settlement at Muscle Shoals by the Tennessee Company, January 1, 1791.....	400
O'Fallon to Miló, February 18, 1791.....	401
Revilla Gigedo to Miró, March 2, 1791.....	404
Delino to Miró, March 4, 1791.....	406
De Blanc to Miró, March 30, 1791 (Nos. 5 and 6).....	407
Perez to Miró, April 5, 1791 (No. 178).....	410
Perez to Miró, April 5, 1791 (No. 180).....	410
Pope to Wilcox, June 4, 1791.....	411
Miró to McGillivray, July 6, 1791.....	412
Le Dru to Dunegant, August 1, 1791.....	413
Perez to Miró, October 5, 1791.....	414
Waters to Portell, December 5, 1791.....	417

## INTRODUCTION

The military occupation of West Florida, which terminated in 1781 with the fall of Pensacola and the suppression of the Natchez uprising, was the last important Spanish conquest in North America. In the critical period which followed, Spain attempted to safeguard and even to enlarge her newly acquired territory, but the means employed were more diplomatic than military. With the English removed from the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Coast, the principal threat to Spanish territory was the westward expansion of the United States. In this situation the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi were of the greatest importance to Spain because they formed a barrier against the advancing American frontier. Esteban Miró, who administered Louisiana and West Florida during the post war decade, first as acting governor and then as governor, achieved significant successes in dealing with the Indians of the borderland region between the Spanish posts and the American settlements.

One of Miró's first problems was to resolve the situation in West Florida which had resulted from the Natchez insurrection of 1781. When the town had been retaken by the Spaniards, a number of rebels fled into the Indian hinterland, particularly the Chickasaw country.<sup>1</sup> By the summer of 1782 there were reports that the English had encampments near the Mississippi inhabited by at least three hundred persons. One camp was located near Barrancas de Margot or Chickasaw Bluffs and the second was about ten leagues above that site.<sup>2</sup> Occupants of these camps were fugitives from Natchez, roving traders of various nationalities, and some loyalist refugees from the east.<sup>3</sup> They were under the nominal command of James Colbert, who held a commission as captain in the British army. He was an old settler in the region who had married into the Chickasaw tribe, and his sons were chiefs of importance.<sup>4</sup> Believing the treatment of Blommart, Alston, and other captured leaders of the Natchez rebellion to be unduly harsh, the English at Chickasaw Bluffs began reprisals upon Spanish commerce along the Mississippi. They maintained secret communication with the British settlers of Natchez and messengers arrived almost daily with information regarding craft coming up the river with supplies for Spanish Illinois.<sup>5</sup> Even the approximate date when these boats would pass

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<sup>1</sup> See below pp. 29, 32, 33, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (2 vols., Chicago, 1909), I, 226.

<sup>3</sup> See below p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See below pp. 31-32.

<sup>5</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 224.

was known. On May 2, 1782, Colbert's men made their most important capture when they took a boat commanded by Silvestre Labbadie. On board it were Señora Cruzat, wife of the lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois, and her small sons.<sup>6</sup> Crew and passengers were held as prisoners but Señora Cruzat soon was permitted to return to New Orleans bearing an offer from Colbert to exchange the people he had taken for Blommart and his companions.<sup>7</sup>

Although the English band in the Chickasaw country was a menace to all Spanish posts from Natchez north, and although Miró admitted that the navigation of the Mississippi was "interrupted from Akanzas to Ylinoeses," he decided that a military expedition to expel the British from the region would be impractical.<sup>8</sup> He knew that the French, during their régime, had sent two large forces against the Chickasaws but had been unable to punish them. Miró estimated that a thousand regular troops supported by militia and Indian auxiliaries would be required to guarantee a successful campaign against Colbert's forces if they were backed by the Chickasaw nation. Consequently, he determined to seek a peaceful solution through a program of conciliation. First, he offered a general pardon to fugitives from the Natchez district if they would return to their homes; and second, he launched a diplomatic offensive to win the co-operation of the Chickasaws.<sup>9</sup> Using Choctaw chiefs as intermediaries, friendly messages were sent from Mobile and Natchez to the Chickasaws.<sup>10</sup> From Ste. Geneviève, Captain Jacobo Du Breuil despatched a party of Kaskaskias, Loups, and Peorias to negotiate for the release of the prisoners.<sup>11</sup> The envoys were well received and Piernas at Natchez, Grimarest at Mobile, and Du Breuil all reported successful missions.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, Cruzat, at St. Louis, secretly induced a band of Kickapoos and Mascoutens to attack the Chickasaws in the belief that pressure from the northern Indians would influence them to seek peace with the Spaniards.<sup>13</sup>

Colbert, however, continued with his original plans to harass the Spaniards. In April, 1783, at the head of a force of about a hundred Englishmen and a few Indians, he crossed the Mississippi and for a week laid siege to Arkansas Post. Du Breuil successfully resisted and Colbert withdrew. A few days later in New Orleans the six Natchez prisoners were released as a result of the conclusion

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>7</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 219-230; see below pp. 18, 25-27, 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 214-215.

<sup>10</sup> See below pp. 20, 57-58, 61-63.

<sup>11</sup> See below pp. 50-51.

<sup>12</sup> See below pp. 51-52, 57, 62.

<sup>13</sup> See below pp. 53, 54.

of peace between Spain and England. When he received this news, Colbert also released his prisoners and the affair came to an end.<sup>14</sup> On November 8, 1783, Du Breuil reported to Miró that the Chickasaws had requested a trader and that he had sent them Anselmo Billet who was known to them.<sup>15</sup>

Although victorious in her drive to acquire England's Florida possessions and successful in Indian diplomacy, Spain failed to win the peace at Paris. During the negotiations of August and September, 1782, which followed the Revolutionary War, Conde de Aranda, who headed the Spanish peace commission, proposed that the western boundary of the United States be drawn far to the east of the Mississippi. The purpose was to exclude the Americans from contact with that river and to eliminate any claims which they might make to its use. For the sake of harmony with Spain, Vergennes, the French minister, gave Aranda's plan unofficial support.<sup>16</sup> However, the American peace commissioners, Franklin, Jay, and Adams, entered into a separate agreement with the British representatives and a preliminary treaty was signed on November 30, 1782. It provided for the free navigation of the Mississippi River and made that stream the western boundary of the United States as far south as the thirty-first degree of north latitude. The southern boundary was to follow that parallel to the Appalachicola or Chattahoochee River. A secret article included in the treaty provided that, if England were not forced to yield West Florida to Spain, the boundary line should be drawn eastward from the mouth of the Yazoo River which was about a hundred miles north of the thirty-first parallel.<sup>17</sup>

On September 3, 1783, Great Britain ceded the Floridas to Spain by a treaty which did not specify definite boundaries. The Spanish diplomats were ignorant of the secret clause contained in the preliminary treaty between England and the United States and did not insist upon a clarification of the boundary question. A definitive treaty was concluded the same day between the United States and Great Britain and the line of the thirty-first parallel was confirmed.<sup>18</sup> For Spain and the United States neither the question of the use of the Mississippi River nor that of the international boundary had been settled.

During the Revolutionary War' the scarcity of food supplies at

<sup>14</sup> John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana* (Berkeley, 1934), 240-241.

<sup>15</sup> See below pp. 90-91.

<sup>16</sup> *Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of the Continental Congress* (4 vols., Boston, 1820-1821), IV, 63-80; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), 38-42.

<sup>17</sup> *Secret Journals of Congress*, III, 331-338.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier: 1785-1795* (Boston, 1927), 9-12.

New Orleans had induced the Spanish government to permit the entry of American products. When the war ended, a change in policy occurred. Since Spanish commerce was insufficient to sustain Louisiana and West Florida, an attempt was made to stimulate trade with France. Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, through the influence of his son-in-law Bernardo de Gálvez, obtained a contract from the King on November 30, 1787, which authorized him to import 380,000 pesos worth of goods into Louisiana and West Florida for the use of the Spanish government and for his own private trading ventures. Since the goods were not obtainable in Spain, Maxent was permitted to purchase them in France. The concession to Maxent was a factor in opening trade between France and Louisiana to all Spanish subjects.<sup>19</sup>

On January 22, 1782, a royal cedula was issued which, for a period of ten years, permitted commerce between New Orleans and Pensacola and French ports where Spanish consuls resided. Trade was subject to a six percent import and export tax but Negro slaves were allowed to enter duty free. However, the exportation of specie, except as payment for slaves, was prohibited.<sup>20</sup> In theory, the royal order greatly liberalized the commerce of Louisiana and West Florida and at the same time removed the necessity of trade with the United States. In practice the regulation of 1782 was not successful. Maxent's project failed because the British captured his first cargo. Louisiana shipping never developed sufficiently to supply the needs of the colony, nor were sufficient French shippers attracted to the trade. Since Spain was determined to curtail American commercial activities on the Mississippi, she eventually was forced to turn to a British firm to meet the demands of the politically important southern Indian trade.<sup>21</sup>

Spanish-American relations at New Orleans were complicated by the debts which Oliver Pollock had contracted during the war on behalf of Virginia and the Continental Congress. Pollock had exhausted his resources and his credit. Joseph Foucher, treasurer of Louisiana, notified Pollock on November 21, 1781, that he must take steps to reimburse the royal treasury immediately.<sup>22</sup> Private creditors were even more insistent. A considerable portion of the debts had been incurred as a result of instructions from Jefferson, when governor of Virginia, to draw upon Penette, Dacosta Frères and Company of Nantes. Since the drafts had not been covered by ship-

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<sup>19</sup> Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (Deland, 1931), xxvii-xxix.

<sup>20</sup> The cedula was published in French in Louisiana. See below pp. 1-4. For Spanish text and excellent translation consult Whitaker, *Documents*, 30-39.

<sup>21</sup> Lawrence Kinnaird, "International Rivalry in the Creek Country," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, X (1931), 66.

<sup>22</sup> James Alton James, *Oliver Pollock* (New York, 1937), 271-272.



ments of products from Virginia, the holders were not reimbursed.<sup>23</sup> Pollock eventually sold his property in Louisiana but the money so raised paid only a small part of his indebtedness. As a final recourse he left his family in New Orleans and departed for the United States to make personal appeals to the Continental Congress and the State of Virginia.<sup>24</sup> Although resolutions were passed both by Congress and the Virginia legislature acknowledging obligations to Pollock, governmental finances were in such a chaotic state that he received little immediate assistance. A plan of payment was proposed by the Virginia House of Delegates but it proved entirely unsatisfactory to Governor Miró.<sup>25</sup> One undesirable feature was that liquidation of bills drawn by Pollock upon Penette, Dacosta, Frères and Company to finance George Rogers Clark's Illinois operations was stopped and the holders of the bills were required to present them, together with protest charges, to the treasurer of Virginia through Francisco Rendón, Spanish agent in Philadelphia.<sup>26</sup> The only immediate service for Louisiana which Pollock was able to render during his stay in the United States was in securing the release of a vessel belonging to Antonio de Argot which had been captured by a Boston privateer in the Mississippi while it was evacuating British families from West Florida.<sup>27</sup>

Following the war, Spain's main objective in Louisiana and West Florida was to establish her control over the lower Mississippi and the territory left in dispute with the United States by the treaties of 1783. While awaiting a decision of the court relative to Mississippi commerce, Miró continued his negotiations with the powerful southern Indian tribes who inhabited the disputed region. He was aided by fortunate circumstances. The Indians in general regarded the American frontiersmen as their natural enemies, and furthermore, numerous British squaw men, traders, and loyalist refugees lived in the Indian country. The most famous and powerful of the Indian chiefs was Alexander McGillivray of the Upper Creeks who was the son of a Scotch trader. He had served with British forces during the war but at its close had returned to the Creek nation. Pressure of the advancing American frontier caused him to turn to Spain for assistance at a time when Miró was attempting to extend Spain's influence into the Indian country. As a result of McGillivray's overtures, a congress was held at Pensacola on May 30, 1784, where Governor Miró, Intendant Navarro, and Arturo O'Neill, the local commandant, met a

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 275-276; see below p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> James, *op. cit.*, 272; see below pp. 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> See below pp. 76, 77-78, 87.

<sup>26</sup> See below *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> See below p. 77.

Creek delegation.<sup>28</sup> McGillivray acted as spokesman for the Indians and the congress was concluded with the signing of a treaty in which the Creeks placed themselves under the protection of Spain. The Creeks agreed to admit no white man to the nation without a Spanish passport and to receive only traders with Spanish licenses. In return for protection of Creek lands within Spain's jurisdiction, the Indians promised to co-operate, under orders of the Spanish governor, for the defense of the province whenever necessary. Miró appointed McGillivray commissioner for the King of Spain in the Creek nation at a salary of fifty pesos a month. The Creek chief at this time attempted to persuade the Spaniards to authorize William Pantón, a fellow loyalist and business associate, to establish a trading house at Pensacola. The firm of Pantón, Leslie and Company had been permitted by Governor Zéspedes, in charge of East Florida, to continue its business there after English evacuation. Although McGillivray's request was not granted immediately, Pantón was allowed to retain his trading post at Apalachee. However, when other methods of supply failed, the Spanish government, largely as a result of the influence of McGillivray, granted to Pantón, Leslie and Company a monopoly of the southern Indian trade.<sup>29</sup>

Between June 16 and July 16, 1784, another Indian Congress was held at Mobile which was attended by large delegations of Choctaws, Alibamons, and Chickasaws. Fifty-eight Choctaw villages were represented. The Alibamons sent delegations from nine villages and the Chickasaws from six. Treaties similar to that of Pensacola were negotiated, with the exception that the treaty with the Chickasaws did not bind them to come to the defense of the Spaniards in case of war.<sup>30</sup> By the treaties of Pensacola and Mobile Spain made herself the protector of the southern Indian tribes and thus strengthened her position in the disputed area. The United States negotiated the treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees in 1785 and, in the following year, treaties with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, but the results obtained were far from satisfactory. All efforts by the Americans to come to terms with the Creeks failed and border warfare continued.<sup>31</sup>

The western Americans countered Spain's territorial claims by attempting to plant colonies in the disputed region. Shortly after the

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<sup>28</sup> John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 24-25; Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *España y los Indios Cheroquis y Choctas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Sevilla, 1916), 21-23.

<sup>29</sup> Kinnaird, *loc. cit.*, 65-66.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (4 vols., New Orleans, ed. 4, 1903), III, 160; Jane M. Berry, "Indian Policy of Spain in the Southwest, 1783-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III (1917), 464; see below pp. 102-107.

<sup>31</sup> *Indian Treaties and Laws and Regulations relating to Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1826), 112-115, 152-155, 175-177; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 15-17; Bemis, *op. cit.*, 57-65.

close of the war James Robertson, the founder of Nashville, initiated a plan to establish a settlement at Chickasaw Bluffs.<sup>32</sup> Chickasaw opposition following the treaty with Spain at Mobile caused the project to be abandoned. Later William Blount, John Sevier, and other land speculators developed a plan to found a colony at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. However, a movement to separate the Tennessee settlements from North Carolina, which resulted in founding the abortive State of Franklin, diverted interest from the project and it was dropped.<sup>33</sup> A third effort to extend American authority into the disputed territory was made under the auspices of the State of Georgia. Under her old English charter this state claimed that the Natchez region lay within her jurisdiction. Thomas Green and other Americans who had come to Natchez during and after the war petitioned Georgia to extend her jurisdiction to the Mississippi.<sup>34</sup>

On February 7, 1785, a bill was passed by the Georgia assembly creating the County of Bourbon which included territory lying between the mouth of the Yazoo River and the thirty-first parallel. A commission was appointed consisting of Nicholas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, and Thomas Green to organize a government at Natchez.<sup>35</sup> The commissioners also undertook the difficult task of trying to induce the Spaniards to evacuate the region. On August 1, 1785, Felipe Treviño, the Spanish commandant at Natchez, sent Louis Chacheré to investigate conditions upon the American western frontier.<sup>36</sup> The strength of settlements there and the attitude of the people were important considerations in determining Spanish action at Natchez while awaiting a decision of the Spanish court upon the matter. Governor Miró proceeded cautiously in his dealings with the Bourbon County commissioners until he received instructions from his superior, Bernardo de Gálvez, viceroy of Mexico and captain general of Cuba, early in November, 1785. He then ordered the Georgia agents to depart. The Spanish decision was supported by a resolution of the United States Congress, dated October 13, 1785, which disapproved the act of Georgia upon the grounds that it might disturb the friendly relations between the two nations.<sup>37</sup> The termination of the Bourbon County affair did not

<sup>32</sup> See below pp. 151, 155.

<sup>33</sup> *State Records of North Carolina* (30 vols., Raleigh, 1886-1914), XVII, 138-139; Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Sheffield, Alabama, 1896), 372-373; George Henry Alden, "The State of Franklin," *American Historical Review*, VIII (1903), 272-289; Arthur Preston Whitaker, "Muscle Shoals Speculation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII (1926), 371-375; Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, Tennessee, 1924), 28-33.

<sup>34</sup> Edmund C. Burnett, ed., "Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia," *American Historical Review*, XV (1909-10), 68.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 68-69.

<sup>36</sup> See below pp. 135, 146, 151-154.

<sup>37</sup> Burnett, *op. cit.*, 297-98; See below pp. 143-145, 155.

restore the Spaniards' sense of security at Natchez. Agitation for the acquisition of the region continued in the western United States and the presence of American settlers in the Natchez district constituted an additional element of danger for Spain.

The Natchez question was soon merged with the larger issue of the free navigation of the Mississippi. In the summer of 1784, Miró received instructions from José de Gálvez to proclaim that neither the English nor Americans had any right to free navigation of the Mississippi.<sup>38</sup> Spanish officials in Louisiana made an attempt to close the river entirely to American commerce but pressure of circumstances forced a gradual withdrawal from this position. Actually the Mississippi was closed to American trade for only a very brief interval. On March 18, 1785, Miró reported to Gálvez that a flatboat with several prospective American settlers and a cargo of flour had arrived at Natchez and requested instructions concerning the disposition of the Americans and their produce. The captain general replied that Navarro, the intendant, could use his judgment in the matter of the flour, but he avoided a decision relative to American immigrants by referring that difficult question to the King.<sup>39</sup> Early in June, 1786, two American flatboats and one pirogue in charge of Thomas Ormis<sup>40</sup> arrived at Natchez.<sup>41</sup> The cargoes belonged to Ormis and Joseph Calvert<sup>42</sup> and Intendant Navarro promptly ordered them confiscated. Carlos Grand-Pré, then commandant at Natchez, retained the ninety barrels of flour for use of the Natchez garrison and sent the remaining goods to New Orleans where they were sold at auction on August 3, 1786.<sup>43</sup> Apparently Ormis escaped arrest and returned to the American settlements where he denounced the Spaniards for their harsh measures.

The seizure of American property soon brought repercussions in the western United States. George Rogers Clark, commanding a Kentucky expedition against the Indians of the Wabash, confiscated the goods of three traders from Spanish Louisiana who were at Vincennes without passports.<sup>44</sup> A fourth trader named Alvarez managed to escape in the night with his boats.<sup>45</sup> On November 15, 1786, the inci-

<sup>38</sup> Houck, *op cit.*, I, 237.

<sup>39</sup> See below p. 125.

<sup>40</sup> While he is referred to as Ormis in Spanish documents his name appears as Amis in American documents. See Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., New York, 1889-96) III, 121, n. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Rodríguez to Navarro, June 6, 1786, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-21.

<sup>42</sup> For earlier reference to Calvert see Part I.

<sup>43</sup> Order of confiscation by Navarro, July 21, 1786, and related documents, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-21; Statement by Juan Josef Rodríguez, September 16, 1786, *ibid.*; James Alton James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928), 359-60.

<sup>44</sup> Justin Winsor, *Westward Movement* (New York, 1897), 347; James, *op. cit.*, 359; Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark* (Boston, 1926), 296-97.

<sup>45</sup> See below p. 191.

dent was reported to Cruzat, lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois, and the explanation offered that Clark justified the confiscation on the basis of similar Spanish action against American commerce at Natchez.<sup>46</sup> A few days later Cruzat received a very alarming report that Clark was recruiting forces in the districts of Illinois, Kentucky, and Cumberland to descend the river the following February and attack Natchez.<sup>47</sup> To Spanish officials both in Louisiana and Spain it appeared that a crisis was approaching relative to the use of the Mississippi. After Spain had closed the river in 1784, Diego de Gardoqui had been sent to Philadelphia as chargé d'affaires with instructions to seek an agreement with the United States regarding the disputed boundary. Although he was empowered to make some concessions, chiefly commercial, which would appeal to the people of the eastern seaboard, he was directed to announce that Spain would not permit free navigation of the Mississippi or American trade with Spanish colonies.<sup>48</sup> John Jay, who had been appointed to negotiate with Gardoqui, suggested a compromise whereby the United States would relinquish her Mississippi claims but only for a limited period. This proposal aroused great indignation in the West and frontiersmen, who believed that Congress had betrayed them, talked openly of taking matters into their own hands. Separatist movements developed in the Kentucky and Tennessee regions where Spain could expect little restraining influence to be exerted by Congress.<sup>49</sup>

By 1787, cabinet members in Spain and the governor and intendant in Louisiana were receptive to suggestions for easing the tension on the American frontier. In that year Pierre Wouves d'Argès, a Frenchman who had lived in Kentucky, arrived in Spain via Paris where he had attracted the interest of Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador. He proposed a plan to Floridablanca designed to induce American settlers to migrate to Louisiana and West Florida so that these regions would develop at the expense of the western United States. As a safety measure he also recommended that the Mississippi should be opened to American commerce subject to the payment of normal duties. Influenced by the Clark affair and the Bourbon County episode, the cabinet accepted the proposal and appointed d'Argès as immigration agent for Spain in Kentucky. Royal orders were despatched to Gardoqui and Miró on August 23, and September 5, respectively explaining d'Argès' mission and the changes in Spain's policy relative to the Mississippi which was to be opened to American commerce subject to a twenty-five percent duty.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See below p. 191.

<sup>47</sup> See below pp. 191-192.

<sup>48</sup> Whitaker, *Spanish American Frontier, 1783-1795*, 71.

<sup>49</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, 339-341, 347-350.

<sup>50</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 81; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 197.

From the Clark affair there stemmed a second plan for the solution of the Mississippi problem. While rumors were still prevalent that Clark was enlisting men for an expedition against Natchez, the lieutenant governor at St. Louis received a message from James Wilkinson, a merchant and politician of Kentucky, expressing on behalf of the law-abiding citizens of that district disapproval of Clark's conduct.<sup>51</sup> Thus introduced, Wilkinson in the following summer arrived at New Orleans with a flatboat laden with Kentucky products. Governor Miró and Intendant Navarro received him courteously, permitted him to sell his cargo without payment of duties, and listened to his discussion of separatism in the West.<sup>52</sup> On September 5, Wilkinson presented a memorial which proposed that he should be employed to work for the separation of the Kentucky region from the Union with the objective of a subsequent alignment with Spain. Free use of the Mississippi was to be the chief inducement offered for such action and, therefore, until the separation occurred, commerce, according to Wilkinson, ought to be prohibited to all Americans except himself. Although his main interest lay in securing a commercial monopoly, an alternative proposal was included to the effect that Wilkinson was to act as agent for Spain to promote emigration from the United States to Louisiana and West Florida. Miró and Navarro understood Wilkinson's financial motives but, believing that they had made a satisfactory deal, they strongly recommended that the court accept his proposals.<sup>53</sup>

The Spanish council of ministers, after reviewing the entire Mississippi Valley situation, went farther in appeasing the western Americans than had been done the preceding year. It reduced duties to fifteen percent on produce coming down the river and authorized Miró to make additional reductions to six percent in cases where shippers were persons of importance and influence. Immigration regulations were liberalized so that non-Catholics might enter Louisiana and West Florida with a guarantee of religious toleration. Wilkinson was selected as Spain's agent in Kentucky instead of d'Argès but his recommendations relative to commerce on the Mississippi were rejected. The government's decisions were embodied in a royal order of December 1, 1788. Although Miró was instructed to keep in communication with Wilkinson, he was also directed not to support openly any separatist agitation in the United States.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 97; *id.*, "James Wilkinson's First Descent to New Orleans in 1787," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (1925), 86.

<sup>52</sup> William R. Shepherd, "Wilkinson and the Beginnings of the Spanish Conspiracy," *American Historical Review*, IX (1904), 494-495; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 194-195.

<sup>53</sup> Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *El Brigadier James Wilkinson, y sus Tratos con España para la Independencia del Kentucky* (Madrid, 1915), 17-21; Whitaker, *Spanish American Frontier: 1783-1795*, 99; Shepherd, *loc. cit.*, 496-505. Miró recommended Wilkinson for a pension but it was not until 1792 that a stipend of 2000 pesos was authorized.

<sup>54</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 99-103.

Despite relaxation of Spanish commercial regulations in 1787 and 1788, trade between Louisiana and the United States developed slowly. It was not until 1790 that American flatboats began to come down the Mississippi River in appreciable numbers. There was also some renewal of commerce by sea.<sup>55</sup> One contributory factor was the great fire of 1788 which destroyed a large part of New Orleans. The scarcity of supplies which resulted from this disaster led to the importation of necessities from the United States. Miró immediately dispatched three ships to Philadelphia with a request that Gardoqui procure as soon as possible medicines, provisions, building materials, and other items needed at New Orleans.<sup>56</sup> He also requested that Gardoqui grant permission to American vessels to sail for Louisiana with foodstuffs. The responsibility of rehabilitating New Orleans fell almost entirely upon the governor since Martín Navarro, the experienced intendant, had recently departed.<sup>57</sup> Miró was directed by royal order of February 25, 1788, to assume the office of intendant as well as that of governor. His measures, in addition to importation of supplies, included the fixing of prices on foodstuffs and an attempt to stabilize the currency by receiving limited amounts of paper pesos in exchange for silver.<sup>58</sup> More favorable commercial opportunities soon brought a number of American merchants to New Orleans and among them was Oliver Pollock. He arrived shortly after the time of the fire with the intention of re-establishing himself in the Louisiana trade so that he might pay his still outstanding Revolutionary War debts. However, he also brought a confidential message for Miró from John Brown, a delegate to Congress from the district of Kentucky. Brown described the plans of that region to declare itself independent and then to initiate negotiations with Spain relative to "the opening of a commercial intercourse with reciprocal advantages." He explained that at the proper time he would send the "necessary documents" to Pollock so that he might present them to Miró.<sup>59</sup>

Until the royal order of December 1, 1788, became known in the American West, separatist movements flourished. John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin Sebastian, and other prominent leaders supported the Wilkinson plan in Kentucky. James White, a delegate to Congress from North Carolina, had suggested to Gardoqui in August, 1786, that the people of the western settlements might be willing to secede from the Union and place themselves under the protection of

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 95; Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), 84; *id.*, "Reed and Forde: Merchant Adventurers of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1937), 243-253.

<sup>56</sup> Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 204.

<sup>57</sup> Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana* (4 vols., New York, 1904), II, 118.

<sup>58</sup> Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), 95.

<sup>59</sup> James, *Oliver Pollock*, 330; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 222.

might remain provided they took an oath of allegiance to Spain. Although the Catholic religion was to be the only one tolerated, arrangements were made to send in English-speaking priests to serve the district.<sup>75</sup> Upon the basis of this royal order Gardoqui soon began to issue passports to Americans who wished to move to Louisiana.

A significant event in the history of Mississippi Valley colonization under Spain was the arrival of Bryan Bruin at New Orleans in 1787. On March 31, he presented a petition to Governor Miró on behalf of himself and a group of Virginia Catholics for permission to settle in West Florida. The governor approved the request and granted to each family a tract of land to be located in unoccupied areas fronting upon the Mississippi or any of the creeks or bayous. Each tract was to consist of eight hundred arpents and a second grant of equal size was promised when the first was under cultivation. At the same time, Miró announced that other Catholic families would be received in the province under the same conditions. He reported his action to his government and by October, 1787, had received a royal order approving it.<sup>76</sup> The project of Bruin was important for two reasons. First, his mission to New Orleans antedated the visit of Wilkinson and the arrival of d'Argès in Spain. Second, as a result of Miró's decision to make liberal grants to Bruin and his associates, it became known that lands might be obtained more easily in Spanish territory than in the United States. Bryan Bruin and his son, Peter Bryan Bruin, became influential planters in West Florida and later received additional grants of land in the valley of the Ouachita.

After Bruin's successful venture, other promoters of colonies and land speculation schemes soon applied to Gardoqui and Miró for permission to bring in American immigrants. In the fall of 1787, William Fitzgerald, who had arrived in New Orleans with a recommendation from Gardoqui, asked for authorization to transport thirty Catholic families from New York to Louisiana. Governor Miró gave his approval and Navarro granted him 1,000 pesos to assist in paying his expenses.<sup>77</sup> In the following year George Rogers Clark attempted to interest Gardoqui in a plan to found an American colony in Upper Louisiana opposite the mouth of the Ohio. He explained that the colony would attract great numbers of American settlers and applied for a grant of about one hundred square miles. Clark sought to obtain certain guarantees of religious and political freedom for prospective settlers and because of that, his plan was rejected.<sup>78</sup> About the same time Baron Von Steuben made a similar

<sup>75</sup> Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 177-178.

<sup>76</sup> Lawrence Kinnaird, "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (2 vols., Lancaster, 1932), I, 230-231.

<sup>77</sup> Navarro to Valdés, October 10, 1787 (No. 9), AGI, Aud. SD, 87-1-21.

<sup>78</sup> James, *op. cit.*, 392-395; Bodley, *op. cit.*, 336-337.



proposal.<sup>79</sup> He applied for 200,000 acres which he planned to distribute to settlers in lots of 230 acres. Gardoqui forwarded the application to Spain but no action was taken. In the spring of 1789 Peter Paulus, an inn-keeper of Philadelphia, arrived in New Orleans with a group of thirty-four persons whom he had induced to migrate to Louisiana. His proposition to Governor Miró was that he would bring three thousand Dutch and German settlers from western Pennsylvania to the province provided the Spanish government would grant each family six hundred arpents of land and pay the expenses of transportation. Miró rejected the proposal and made it clear that he could not offer any financial aid to colonists.<sup>80</sup> However, when the ship *Concepción* arrived from Philadelphia with 173 immigrants, he established 133 of them in Feliciana at the expense of the royal treasury.<sup>81</sup> The period from 1787 through 1789 was one of active interest in colonization projects for Louisiana and West Florida. Wilkinson had certain obscure imperialistic designs, while Joseph Martin sought permission from McGillivray to settle five hundred American families on the Tombigbee River.<sup>82</sup> In 1789 William Butler and Augustin Macarty each applied to Miró for financial support of schemes to bring in large numbers of Irish Catholics from the United States.<sup>83</sup>

Of the numerous plans devised by Americans for the purpose of planting colonies in Spanish territory only that of George Morgan resulted in the founding of a new town. Morgan had secured from Gardoqui the promise of a large concession of land on the west side of the Mississippi just below the mouth of the Ohio. He had set out to examine the region without waiting for the approval of the Spanish government and reached the Mississippi on February 14, 1789. After exploring the region, he decided to found a new city about twelve leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, at a place called by the French traders L'Anse à la Graisse. Here a town was laid out to which was given the name New Madrid. Morgan's party constructed storehouses for provisions and in the spring prepared and planted about a hundred acres of land.<sup>84</sup> While Morgan was employed in establishing his settlement, his work was secretly opposed by General Wilkinson who wrote to Governor Miró criticizing the terms of the grant from Gardoqui and pointing out that the settlers

<sup>79</sup> Frederick Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben* (New York, 1859), 586-589.

<sup>80</sup> Miró to Paulus, March 7, 1789, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 120; Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement* (Austin, 1927), 23; Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 276; Kinnaid, *op. cit.*, I, 232-233.

<sup>81</sup> Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 253.

<sup>82</sup> James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Time* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1816), II, 116-117; *State Records of North Carolina*, XXII, 787-788, 1006.

<sup>83</sup> Hatcher, *op. cit.*, 16-17; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 179.

<sup>84</sup> Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (3 vols., Chicago, 1908), II, 110-120; Max Savelle, *George Morgan, Colony Builder* (New York, 1932) 205-215.

would have the right of self-government and freedom in establishing churches other than Catholic. Consequently, when Morgan went to New Orleans to consult the governor, he failed to secure his approval. Miró declared that Gardoqui had no authority to promise a land grant in Louisiana and that settlement could be made only according to the regulations of the King. Instead of the large concession which Morgan had expected, the governor offered him 1,000 acres and a like amount for each of his sons. Morgan's whole plan was nullified by Miró's decision and, as a result, he returned to Pennsylvania. In July, 1789, the governor sent Lieutenant Pierre Foucher with a detachment of soldiers to New Madrid with instructions to take command and to erect a fort. Miró's action temporarily halted the progress of the new town but eventually it became one of the important establishments of Spanish Illinois, attracting French as well as American settlers.<sup>85</sup>

The policy of Governor Miró was opposed to making large land grants to promoters of colonization schemes which savored of speculation. On the other hand, from the time of Bruin's arrival in New Orleans he made individual grants to those who desired to settle in Spanish territory. The change in Spanish attitude toward immigrants from the United States had come swiftly. On April 23, 1785, Bernardo de Gálvez had referred to them as "enemies within our territory,"<sup>86</sup> but before the end of 1788 they were welcomed and even guaranteed religious toleration.<sup>87</sup> Grand-Pré, the commandant at Natchez, reported 128 arrivals from Kentucky, Cumberland, and Virginia during the first half of 1788.<sup>88</sup> The growth of population in the Natchez district resulted in its organization as a separate jurisdiction under a governor. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, a man educated in England, was recommended by Miró for the post and his appointment was approved on February 7, 1789.<sup>89</sup>

In Lower Louisiana and West Florida a favorable tobacco market, as well as free land, was a strong inducement to immigration. The tobacco industry was a Spanish governmental monopoly and the purchasing program had artificially stimulated planting. In September, 1782, the viceroy of Mexico wrote to Miró that a million pounds of tobacco would be purchased in Louisiana. Although production did not immediately meet the quota, Miró reported that the shipment for 1786 was a million pounds and brought 500,000 pesos profit to the royal treasury. Hope of selling Kentucky tobacco to the Spanish

<sup>85</sup> Savelle, *op. cit.*, 215-228; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 243-248; Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 120-130. For documents pertaining to the founding of New Madrid see Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 275-309.

<sup>86</sup> See below p. 125.

<sup>87</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>88</sup> See below pp. 257-258.

<sup>89</sup> See below pp. 266-267.

government at a high price was one of the inducements which brought Wilkinson to New Orleans. To further the Kentucky scheme and to absorb the local production Miró recommended that the government buy six million pounds. In the fall of 1789, news arrived that the Viceroy of Mexico was stopping importation of the usual million pound allotment. Planters of the Natchez district promptly petitioned for financial assistance listing their liabilities as 401,000 pesos. Much of this indebtedness had resulted from the purchase of slaves to enlarge their plantings. In October, 1789, Miró reported that it would be necessary for the government to buy eight million pounds a year to meet the needs of the colony.<sup>90</sup> He probably included in his estimate considerable purchases of Kentucky tobacco which were to be made for political reasons. However, for the year 1789, production for the two districts, Natchez and Pointe Coupée, amounted to somewhat more than one and a half million pounds.<sup>91</sup> With the Mexico market closed, shipments were made to Spain but buying was limited to two million pounds. A royal order of December 25, 1790, reduced purchases to 40,000 pounds. Because of the hardship thus caused the planters, the government in July, 1791, agreed to accept the two million pounds originally specified but only for one year. In consequence, 1791 marked the end of extensive tobacco cultivation under the Spanish régime in the Mississippi Valley.<sup>92</sup>

In the meantime, a new danger for Spain had appeared as a result of the activities of the Yazoo Land Companies. These companies proposed to establish American colonies and commercial enterprises within Spanish territory and included a number of Americans previously interested in individual colonization and land speculation projects. From Georgia the companies secured tracts of land totalling fifteen million acres located in the territory which was in dispute between Spain and the United States. The Tennessee Company secured the Muscle Shoals region. Chickasaw Bluffs was included in the grant of the Virginia Company. Lands of the South Carolina Company were situated south of those of the Virginia Company and included the Walnut Hills region at the mouth of the Yazoo River. The state of Georgia made no attempt at political control or organization of the Yazoo projects as she had done in the case of the old Bourbon and Houston County enterprises. She merely sold the land.<sup>93</sup>

The South Carolina Company was very ambitious in its objectives and planned to engage in land speculation, Indian commerce, and the slave trade. The company hoped to establish a large colony on

<sup>90</sup> Burson, *op. cit.*, 76-81; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 256, 308.

<sup>91</sup> See below pp. 295, 301.

<sup>92</sup> Burson, *op. cit.*, 83-84; James Alexander Robertson, ed., *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1911), I, 286.

<sup>93</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 114; Charles H. Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies," *American Historical Association Papers*, V (1891), 396-400.

the Yazoo and to make Walnut Hills a port of entry for the entire Mississippi Valley. In this enterprise Spanish sanction was sought. Wilkinson, who had failed in his first Spanish enterprise, became interested in the scheme and in the beginning recommended it highly to Miró. At that time Wilkinson hoped to become general agent for the company, and was disappointed when James O'Fallon was selected.<sup>94</sup> Through Miró, Gardoqui, and Zéspedes, governor of East Florida, O'Fallon sought the approbation of the Spanish government for the enterprise. He also wrote to Colonel Bryan Bruin, and attempted to win his support. O'Fallon assured the Spanish officials that, if they would sanction the venture, the South Carolina Company would create a buffer state between the United States and the possessions of Spain.<sup>95</sup>

O'Fallon set out for the west with secret instructions to make treaties with the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians and then to occupy the company's lands immediately. In Kentucky he cultivated the acquaintance of Wilkinson because of the latter's supposed influence with Miró and other Spanish officials in New Orleans. Although Wilkinson had failed to secure the position in the company he had expected, he had been given a block of stock.<sup>96</sup> At this time the Nootka crisis occurred. In the summer of 1789, Spain had seized British vessels at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, and in May, 1790, a British ultimatum to Spain brought a threat of war. The United States was asked to give permission for British troops from Canada to pass through its territory to invade Louisiana.<sup>97</sup> The Spaniards at St. Louis prepared for an attack. While Washington and his cabinet were considering the English request, Wilkinson wrote to Moultrie, one of the directors of the South Carolina Company, that he was withdrawing from the organization. He explained that O'Fallon had changed the original plan and, instead of making a peaceful settlement under Spanish sanction, now proposed with British aid to take possession of the territory. George Rogers Clark, who had supplanted Wilkinson as advisor to O'Fallon, was to be commander of the expedition. Wilkinson sent Miró a copy of his letter to Moultrie and followed it with letters designed to arouse suspicion and alarm.<sup>98</sup> O'Fallon apparently realized the danger of Wilkinson's influence with Miró. On December 21, 1790, he wrote a letter to Colonel Bryan Bruin in which he described Wilkinson as

<sup>94</sup> Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana Siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 387-390; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 274-276.

<sup>95</sup> See below pp. 338-341, 357-364, 393-394, 397.

<sup>96</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 141.

<sup>97</sup> William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy," *American Historical Association Report*, 1904, pp. 412-424.

<sup>98</sup> Wilkinson to Moultrie, November 4, 1790, AGI, Estado Santo Domingo, *legajo* 9; Wilkinson to Miró, December 16, 1790, *ibid.*; Wilkinson to Miró, February 14, 1791, *ibid.*; Wilkinson to Miró, March 17, 1791, *ibid.*; Wilkinson to Miró, March 19, 1791, *ibid.*

a politician and spy who was dealing with the British while attempting to get a pension from Spain, and predicted that he would "fall between two stools."<sup>99</sup> In this he was wrong despite the fact that his letter eventually reached the governor's hands. He soon received a warning that he would be arrested if he entered Spanish territory.<sup>100</sup> As a last resort O'Fallon informed Miró that Lord Dorchester, the governor general of Canada, had already written to the company and it might support the British if Spain rejected his overtures.<sup>101</sup>

The South Carolina Company, however, like the other Yazoo companies, failed because opposition developed both in the United States and the Spanish governments. The settlement of the Nootka controversy eliminated the danger of British interference. Gayoso de Lemos, the governor of the Natchez district, established a fort at Walnut Hills as a precautionary measure. He later reported: "By my prompt settlement in Nogales the operations of O'Fallon were restrained and were completely destroyed by an inquiry of the President of Congress."<sup>102</sup> President Washington issued a proclamation against the Yazoo projects because of the Hopewell treaty of 1786 which had guaranteed to the Chickasaws and Choctaws lands which the company proposed to occupy.<sup>103</sup> Neither the South Carolina Company nor the Virginia Company had been able to establish any colonies on their lands. The Tennessee Company, under the management of Zachariah Cox, planned a settlement at Muscle Shoals but this was broken up by McGillivray's Creeks.<sup>104</sup>

Spain's relations with the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley constituted a problem of major importance. As long as the tribes east of the Mississippi continued to maintain effective resistance against the Americans, Spain's position was relatively secure. However, during Miró's administration there were evidences that some of the Indians were ready to give up the struggle and retire to the west of the Mississippi where they might become a burden rather than an asset to Spain. In August, 1784, a party of 260 Indians of the Iroquois, Shawnee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Loup tribes came to St. Louis to appeal for aid against the Americans.<sup>105</sup> This was only a beginning. Before long, parties of Shawnees began to drift into Spanish territory. A band of Cherokees in May, 1788, came to St. Louis and asked permission of Lieutenant Governor Perez to move into Spanish territory. Perez opposed the idea for the reason that additional expense would be incurred for presents to the

<sup>99</sup> See below pp. 397-398.

<sup>100</sup> See below p. 402.

<sup>101</sup> See below p. 403.

<sup>102</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 281.

<sup>103</sup> Haskins, *op. cit.*, 405-407.

<sup>104</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 112, 113, 115, 126, 172, 173.

<sup>105</sup> See below pp. 117-119.

Indians.<sup>106</sup> However, Miró stated on April 20, 1789, that he had granted permission to the Cherokees and Mascoutens to settle in Spanish Illinois.<sup>107</sup> In the following September, Valliere, the commandant of Arkansas Post, reported that Shawnees and Abenakis had applied for admission to his district. He refused it because he was afraid that they might ally themselves with the hostile Osages.<sup>108</sup> Four months later a band of Miamis came to Arkansas seeking similar permission.<sup>109</sup> DeBlanc, commandant of Natchitoches, reported on May 4, 1790, that the Miamis were appealing to him to allow them to remain in his district.<sup>110</sup> By the end of the summer both Miamis and Kaskaskias were settling on the Ouachita.<sup>111</sup> The Chickasaws, who were accustomed to hunt west of the Mississippi, appeared in considerable force in 1790 and caused alarm by pursuing some Illinois Indians into the Caddo country where they killed them.<sup>112</sup> All the tribes in southwestern Louisiana were becoming restless.

On the Texas frontier conditions were less satisfactory than in the days of De Mézières. Jurisdictional difficulties over traders developed. Governor Cabello of Texas on December 15, 1783, protested to Miró that Louisiana traders were supplying arms to Texas tribes who in turn traded them to the hostile Lipan Apaches.<sup>113</sup> In 1788, Governor Miró finally announced that trade with Texas was prohibited and gave instructions that no passports were to be issued for that province.<sup>114</sup> The chief difficulty was that the Texas tribes did not have traders as in the days of De Mézières. Armant, the purveyor general for all the tribes of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, who lived at Nacodoches, was unable to keep the Indians adequately supplied and was himself in debt.<sup>115</sup> Miró's attempts to stop the trade with the Texas Indians was unsuccessful and on March 2, 1791, Revilla Gigedo, viceroy of Mexico, complained to him that the Lipan Apaches were still being supplied indirectly by Louisiana traders.<sup>116</sup> Within Louisiana there were also jurisdictional difficulties with Indian traders. The commandants of Natchitoches objected to the activities of Ouachita traders among the Caddos; and all the officials of the southern districts complained of the trade carried on from Spanish Illinois with the Osages who were pushing southward and

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<sup>106</sup> See below p. 255.

<sup>107</sup> See below p. 269.

<sup>108</sup> See below p. 280.

<sup>109</sup> See below p. 292.

<sup>110</sup> See below p. 335.

<sup>111</sup> See below pp. 368-369.

<sup>112</sup> See below pp. 293, 314, 316, 408.

<sup>113</sup> See below p. 94.

<sup>114</sup> See below p. 256.

<sup>115</sup> See below pp. 295, 309, 402.

<sup>116</sup> See below p. 405.

attacking both the Indians and the whites in the valleys of the Arkansas and Red rivers.<sup>117</sup>

The depredations of the Great Osage and Little Osage tribes gave Spain her most serious Indian problem west of the Mississippi. During Miró's administration the Caddos, Kichais, Pawnees, and the inhabitants of Arkansas bore the brunt of Osage attacks although settlers of such widely separated districts as Natchitoches and Illinois suffered at their hands. In March, 1785, the governor arranged for a conference at New Orleans between chiefs of the Arkansas band of Osages and the great chief of the Caddos.<sup>118</sup> A peace was agreed upon but quickly broken by the Osages who, without provocation, attacked the Caddos and Kichais.<sup>119</sup> Du Breuil, commandant of Arkansas, on December 29, 1786, reported to Miró a disturbing rumor that Benito Vásquez, a trader of Spanish Illinois, had warned the Osages that a force was being assembled at Arkansas to attack them and, furthermore, that he had promised to bring them supplies.<sup>120</sup> Although the rumor proved to be an Osage invention, it caused an investigation of Vásquez's activities. He had wintered among the Osages in 1784-85, but Lieutenant Governor Cruzat at St. Louis reported that the charges against him were false.<sup>121</sup> Du Breuil recommended that all trade with the Osages be stopped. On January 25, 1787, Governor Miró ordered that this plan be carried out and instructed Du Breuil to encourage the Kadohadachos and their allies to attack the Osages.<sup>122</sup> The following May, Miró directed Cruzat to allow no trade with the Osages in Spanish Illinois and to influence other nations against them. He admitted that the province could not afford a war but recommended that Cruzat should have Chouteau distribute two hundred pounds of powder and four hundred pounds of ball to the enemies of the Osages.<sup>123</sup> However, there was no improvement in the situation.

In the summer of 1788, the Osages invaded the territory of the Kichais and were reported within twenty leagues of the outlying cattle ranches of Natchitoches where their main objective seemed to be horse stealing.<sup>124</sup> The Kichais were forced to move and settled within six leagues of the Little Caddos.<sup>125</sup> No effective measures were devised to check these depredations although, on May 8, 1789, the people of Arkansas petitioned for permission to declare war upon the Osages.<sup>126</sup> The only resistance against the Osages at this time was

<sup>117</sup> See below pp. 195, 295, 407.

<sup>118</sup> See below pp. 171, 182.

<sup>119</sup> See below pp. 172, 183.

<sup>120</sup> See below p. 195.

<sup>121</sup> See below pp. 213-229, 230-231.

<sup>122</sup> See below p. 197.

<sup>123</sup> See below p. 201.

<sup>124</sup> See below p. 256.

<sup>125</sup> See below p. 259.

<sup>126</sup> See below p. 273.

made by Indians rather than Spaniards or Frenchmen. DeBlanc of Natchitoches reported on September 30, 1789, that the Comanches, Tawehash, Wichitas, Yscanis, and Tonkawas had formed a band of seven hundred warriors and successfully attacked an Osage village.<sup>127</sup> Despite that fact, Osage bands were soon making new incursions into the Natchitoches district. On January 20, 1790, DeBlanc again wrote to Miró that the Osages had arrived at the first cowpens of the post and that the inhabitants were alarmed.<sup>128</sup> The Great Caddos, who had been forced to move their village in 1788 because of Osage attacks, finally in February, 1790, took refuge among the Little Caddos. DeBlanc recommended to the governor that an expedition be sent against the Osages and stated that he would join it with a force from Natchitoches.<sup>129</sup>

In the following August Perez at St. Louis suggested to Miró that the Indians and hunters of Arkansas be given ammunition to fight the Osages. He reported that the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas had promised their co-operation and, in March, 1791, Delino of Arkansas wrote that a council was to be held near the St. Francis River by many tribes who were planning to make war upon the Osages.<sup>130</sup> Miró sent orders to the frontier posts to furnish supplies to Indians who were the enemies of the Osages but again little was accomplished. Referring to these instructions, Perez, on October 5, 1791, pointed out that the cost in Spanish Illinois would, in all probability, reach twenty thousand pesos with no guarantee of success since the strength of the Osages amounted to eight or nine hundred warriors. Consequently, he recommended that a fort be constructed near the principal Osage village as a method of control, and explained that the French had used this scheme successfully.<sup>131</sup> However, no action was taken and Miró's administration ended with the Osage problem still unsolved.

East of the Mississippi Spain's Indian problem was different in character because of the dependence of the southern tribes upon her for supplies and arms necessary to resist the Americans. The Creeks in particular kept up an intermittent warfare along the American frontier. Attempts by Congress and the State of Georgia to bring peace by negotiations had failed largely because of Spanish support given to the Creeks. However, in 1787 when Spain was beginning her policy of appeasement toward the Americans, Miró suggested to McGillivray that he come to terms with them. To enforce his request, he even cut off temporarily the subsidy to the Creeks.<sup>132</sup> Eventually

<sup>127</sup> See below p. 281.

<sup>128</sup> See below p. 295.

<sup>129</sup> See below p. 316.

<sup>130</sup> See below pp. 369, 406.

<sup>131</sup> See below pp. 414-417.

<sup>132</sup> Kinnaid, "International Rivalry in the Creek Country," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, X, 69-70.



McGillivray agreed to meet a United States commission at Rock Landing in September, 1789, but the conference soon terminated because the Creek chief refused to yield to American demands.<sup>133</sup> Shortly thereafter the Nootka Sound affair, which brought a threat of war between Spain and England, convinced McGillivray that a treaty with the United States would be expedient. In the eventuality of war, Pantón, Leslie and Company would probably be unable to supply the southern Indian trade and it would be necessary to import goods from the United States. Furthermore, at this crucial time the Spanish government was still urging McGillivray to settle his differences with the Americans. He, therefore, accepted an invitation from the United States government and set out for New York, where on August 7, 1790, a treaty was concluded which established a new boundary between the American settlements and the Creek country. As the line was a compromise, neither the Georgians nor the Creeks were satisfied. Spain was also displeased because McGillivray ceded territory as far west as the Oconee River and had agreed that only traders with United States government licenses were to be permitted in the Creek country. When the Nootka affair was settled without war, neither McGillivray nor the Spaniards regarded a treaty between the Creeks and the United States as essential.<sup>134</sup>

McGillivray failed to secure ratification of the new boundary line by the Creeks largely because of strong opposition which developed under the leadership of William Augustus Bowles, an agent of a New Providence Island firm and a leader of the pro-British faction among the Lower Creeks. At the time of the Nootka affair Bowles had taken a delegation of Creek and Cherokee chiefs to London for the purpose of promoting a scheme to create an independent Indian nation under British protection.<sup>135</sup> Upon his return he utilized dissatisfaction caused by the treaty of New York in an attempt to displace McGillivray as leader and spokesman for the southern Indian tribes. He built up a strong personal following in the Lower Creek country and assumed the title of Director General of the Creek Nation. His opposition prevented the execution of the treaty and American commissioners waited in vain at Rock Landing for the delegation of chiefs which was to assist in surveying the new boundary line.<sup>136</sup>

During the last years of Miró's administration there were many evidences of increased British influence among the Indians from the Gulf to Canada. Spain had been unable to establish any effective control

<sup>133</sup> Lucia Burk Kinnaid, "The Rock Landing Conference of 1789," *North Carolina Historical Review* (1932), 349-365; see below pp. 283-284.

<sup>134</sup> Caughey, *op. cit.*, 40-46.

<sup>135</sup> Frederick J. Turner, ed., "English Policy Toward America in 1790-1791," *American Historical Review*, VII (1902), 708, 726-735.

<sup>136</sup> Lawrence Kinnaid, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Pantón's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (1931), 162-164; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 184, 198.

in the northern part of the province of Louisiana. The Indian trade of St. Louis expanded slowly and was on a smaller scale than that of the British of Canada.<sup>137</sup> Juan Muniere in 1789 reached the Ponca tribe on the Niobrara River and later petitioned for the exclusive right to trade with these Indians. In 1790 Jacques D'Eglise ascended the Missouri as far as the Mandan villages.<sup>138</sup> Receiving no military support, the St. Louis traders found it difficult to compete with their British rivals who frequently penetrated far enough to the south to supply the Osages.<sup>139</sup> Perez reported from St. Louis in April, 1791, that English traders were operating among the Omahas and Pawnees and recommended the construction of a fort at the mouth of the Des Moines River and another on the San Pedro or Minnesota River to prevent their entry into Spanish territory.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, in the region north of the Ohio, Canadian traders worked generally to Spain's advantage because they supplied arms and ammunition to the Indians and prolonged their resistance against the Americans. Increased Indian depredations along the western frontier of the United States in 1790 convinced General St. Clair that the Wabash tribes and Miamis, with British encouragement, were conspiring for a general war. As a result, an expedition was organized at Fort Washington in September under the command of General Harmar, who, with a force of 320 regulars and 1,133 militia, advanced to the head of the Maumee and destroyed several Miami and Delaware villages.<sup>141</sup> Later, three of his detachments were ambushed by the Indians and he was forced to retreat after suffering heavy losses. In the following year General St. Clair met with greater disaster. At a tributary of the Wabash his army was surprised and cut to pieces on November 4, 1791, by northern Indians under Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis.<sup>142</sup> The defeat occurred at a time when Bowles was fomenting hostility among the southern Indians against the Americans. In fact, an unauthenticated report appeared in an American paper to the effect "that this inveterate enemy of the United States was with the Indians in the action near the Miami towns on the 4th of November last."<sup>143</sup>

Bowles' scheme of creating an independent Indian nation had an interesting parallel in the ideas of Lord Dorchester, who in 1791 was considering the possibility of a buffer Indian state between the United

<sup>137</sup> Abraham P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXIX (1931), 162, 168-169.

<sup>138</sup> Abraham P. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1930), 365-366; *id.*, "Jacques D'Eglise in the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795," *ibid.*, XIV (1927), 47-49.

<sup>139</sup> Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXIX, 167.

<sup>140</sup> See below p. 411.

<sup>141</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, 417-420.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 428, 430.

<sup>143</sup> *American Museum*, XI, Appendix III, p. 40.

States and Canada.<sup>144</sup> Governor J. G. Simcoe of Upper Canada wrote to Henry Dundas that Bowles had once served under him. He had taught to Bowles "a system of colonization" which he "thought practicable & might be eventually of great utility to this country."<sup>145</sup> Bowles, however, quickly clashed with Spain when he attempted to open the southern Indian country to free trade and to break the monopoly of Panton, Leslie and Company.<sup>146</sup> On December 4, 1791, he wrote to Arturo O'Neill, commandant of Pensacola, stating that the chiefs of the Creek and Cherokee nations demanded free ports on the coast of West Florida. He enclosed with his letter a memorial from a council representing both nations to His Catholic Majesty addressed to Floridablanca in which he expressed his desire for a peaceful understanding between Spain and the Indians. He explained that 500 men had already been sent to the coast with orders to take possession of the harbors. He wrote as follows: "Your Excellency may be assured that I shall act with every degree of caution and respect toward all subjects of Spain until the answer is returned from His Catholic Majesty, which I hope will settle everything in friendship—I therefore request that Your Excellency will give immediate orders that no violence be offered to persons or vessels going to and from our ports and wearing our flag, for if any should be committed we shall look upon it as a breach of peace, and I shall take steps accordingly."<sup>147</sup> Bowles' power among the Creeks grew so rapidly that James Seagrove, United States Indian agent, soon expressed the opinion that a "total subversion of Mr. M'Gillivray's influence would shortly take place."<sup>148</sup> He believed "unless some stir was made in his favor that Bowles would rule the nation."<sup>149</sup> Thus the operations of Bowles threatened the whole Spanish system of defense created by the treaties of Pensacola and Mobile in 1784 and offset the favorable results of Indian victories in the north.

At this critical time the administration of Governor Miró terminated and the problems created by Bowles were left to his successor. On December 30, 1791, after ten years of competent service, Miró turned over his office to Baron de Carondelet.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Samuel F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923), 116–117.

<sup>145</sup> Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe* (5 vols. Toronto, 1923–31), I, 50.

<sup>146</sup> Kinnaird, *loc. cit.*, 164–166.

<sup>147</sup> Bowles to O'Neill, December 4, 1791, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 2371.

<sup>148</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 296.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 312.



## COMMERCIAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO LOUISIANA AND WEST FLORIDA

January 22, 1782<sup>1</sup>

*Royal Cedula granting new favors to encourage the commerce of Louisiana, 1782. By order of His Majesty.*

### THE KING

I have always ardently desired and ceaselessly labored for the happiness of my dear and faithful subjects, and to make them enjoy the great advantages secured by freedom of commerce, I have never lost sight of so important a purpose in all the decisions I have made, and in all the orders which it has pleased me to send to my vast possessions of the Indies, since I am strongly persuaded that nothing contributes so much to the wealth, the power, and the prosperity of a state as the protection which is accorded to commerce and industry. The province of Louisiana has been one of the first objects of my cares, from the time that it was joined to my crown, and my paternal love towards the inhabitants of that colony has induced me from that time on to prove to them repeatedly that I was looking upon them as a distinguished portion of my dominions, and that, through the change of sovereignty, their welfare should suffer no impairment.

Notwithstanding all my wishes, and despite the favors and exemptions which it has pleased me to grant them at various times, and especially through articles 48, 49, and 50 of the *Regulation of Free Commerce to the Indies*, October 12, 1778, where they are compiled, experience has shown that they have not fully accomplished all the benefits that I had hoped for the good of this province. Its position, the industry of its inhabitants, the fur trade with the great number of heathen Indian nations surrounding them, and the export goods produced by their land that are suitable for the European trade, require a regulation adjusted to these particular circumstances. These considerations caused me to ask Don Bernardo de Gálvez, governor and captain general of this province, for all the necessary information, and, at the same time, I commanded him to submit to me the means that he would deem the most suitable, and the principles that could be adopted with the greatest confidence, in order to encourage the trade of the colony and to render it as flourishing as possible in view of the richness of its soil and its position. The governor, having sent detailed reports as to the advantages with which nature has endowed this country, has sub-

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft Library (Printed in French). Spanish text cited above, p. xiv, note 20. All documents herein are translated from Spanish unless otherwise indicated.

mitted to me various ways of exploiting them, and added his own ideas, which prove the necessity of opening a market for the products of the colony, in exchange for the goods which it needs for its consumption and its Indian trade.

Everything has been fully considered, including the memorandum which Colonel Don Gilbert Antoine de Maxent, commandant of the militias of New Orleans, has just recently presented. In it he urges me to adopt several advantageous projects dictated by his zeal, and based on his experience and his perfect knowledge of the relations the colony can have with the mother country and the neighboring nations, especially since, by the force of my arms, I have re-entered into possession of the vast regions lately occupied by the English in West Florida. Desiring also to recompense the distinguished services and the faithfulness of which the inhabitants of Louisiana have given so much proof in the last campaigns to reunite the said possessions to my Crown: I have resolved and I command that in the future the favors and exemptions granted in the aforesaid articles 48, 49, and 50 of the cited *Regulation of Free Commerce with the Indies*, shall have their full and entire effect, with the following additions and declarations:

#### ARTICLE I

I permit, for the space of ten years beginning with the day of the peace proclamation, the vessels belonging to my subjects, both of these kingdoms and the colony, and used for commercial voyages to New Orleans and Pensacola, to sail directly with their cargoes from the French ports where my consuls reside, and likewise to return directly to these same ports with the goods and furs of Louisiana and Western Florida, except for money, of which the exportation by this way is absolutely forbidden. There shall be a specific and indispensable condition that my consuls shall make a general invoice of all the goods and merchandise shipped, to be signed and sealed and given to the captain or first mate of the ship, so that he may present it to the customs office of his port of destination. The consuls, before delivering the invoice, will have a copy of it made to be sent to the Minister of the Affairs of the Indies, so that he may be informed of it, and so that the necessary orders for the verification of the real destination and consumption of the goods may be sent.

#### II

In case of urgent necessity in the colony (which shall be decided by the governor and the intendant together), I grant to the inhabitants the same permission stated in the preceding article, so that they may have recourse to the French Islands of America,

but with the indispensable obligation for the captains or first mates of the ships to make detailed statements of their cargoes which they shall turn over to the royal commissioners, so that they may be checked with the goods on board.

## III

In order to encourage my subjects to undertake this trade with the privileged ports of Spain, I allow the free exit from New Orleans and Pensacola of the imported Spanish products and merchandise which have not been consumed or sold in Louisiana and West Florida, so that they may be carried to other privileged ports of the Indies, but they must pay at those ports the duties they should have paid in Spain upon their leaving, as ordered in the regulation of October 12, 1778. In order to prevent fraud and prejudice to the commerce of this kingdom with my other dominions, I forbid the re-exportation of foreign goods, because their sale and consumption, in accordance with the spirit of this ordinance, must take place specifically in Louisiana and Florida.

## IV

I grant for the same space of ten years an absolute exemption from the duties on Negroes introduced into these provinces, and I permit the inhabitants of these same provinces to go and obtain them in friendly or neutral colonies in exchange for their goods or cash, but paying for the exportation of the money and merchandise the small duties laid down by article VII of this Cedula.

## V

Desiring the exemptions and favors to have the happy effects which they ought to produce, I have decided to grant to the inhabitants of Louisiana and Pensacola, for two years beginning with the date of the peace proclamation, the privilege of buying foreign ships. They will be exempt from the duties to be paid on foreign ships, from those of *media-annata* [surtax on tonnage], and from any other duties whatsoever, because it is my will that they be considered wholly as if they were of Spanish make and construction.

## VI

I also grant a full exemption from the duties on the staves of barrels and casks imported from these provinces into Spain, so that nothing will be paid, either for their exportation, or for their entrance into this kingdom.

## VII

It is just that the direct trade with foreigners should contribute to the upkeep of this colony and to the considerable expenses which

it involves. Therefore I command that all the products and goods entering or leaving in ships belonging either to the European Spaniards or to the inhabitants of the colony, pay, in accordance with a moderate estimate, a duty of six percent of their value.

## VIII

For the collection of the duty imposed in the preceding article, and of that of two percent, to be paid, as heretofore, solely on the goods shipped to Havana and my other possessions in the Indies, I have decided to establish two customs offices, one at New Orleans, the other at Pensacola. In order to give them a regular status and to avoid arbitrary decisions which are so harmful to trade, I command the intendant of Louisiana to make immediately, in conformity with the tariff contained in the *Regulation of Free Commerce*, a schedule of the necessary tariffs, fixing the value and price of each article, both for import and export, to be turned over upon completion to Governor Don Bernardo de Gálvez, so that he may examine and correct them, and send them on for my royal approval.

And so that the favors which have just been mentioned in the eight preceding articles have the same force and effect as the ones which I have already granted in articles 48, 49, and 50 of the regulation of October 12, 1778, I command my councils, chancelleries, audiencias, viceroys, presidents, captains and commandants general, governors, intendants, alcaldes mayores and ordinary, royal officers, administrators of my customs, consulates of commerce, as well as my consuls in the ports of France, to observe, execute, and cause to be observed and executed everything contained in this Royal Cedula.

Given at El Pardo this 22nd day of January 1782.

I THE KING  
JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ

Copied from the original.

GÁLVEZ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

*Articles of the Regulation of Free Commerce with the Indies,  
October 12, 1778.*

## XLVIII

*Exemption from the Duties for the Louisiana Commerce.*

By the Royal Decree of March 23, 1768, I have freed the commerce of the province of Louisiana from the duties to be paid on Spanish and foreign products and merchandise, both upon their leaving the Spanish ports authorized for this commerce, and at their en-



trance into the colony, laying down the duties to be paid only at the return and unloading in the Peninsula, at four percent. These duties had been decreased two percent through my Edict of May 2, 1777. As it is necessary for the good of my kingdom that I protect this province, so as to increase its population and commerce, I declare that it is to enjoy the exemptions and advantages stated, and that the vessels of my subjects which will be used for it will be required to observe carefully all the rules prescribed for the other places of America included in this regulation, except that they will not be able to change their destination or unload in any port of the Indies without full justification that this was due to bad weather or some other unforeseen accident.

## XLIX

*Prohibition to ships destined for Louisiana to unload their merchandise in other ports.*

In case the accidents foreseen in the preceding article are proved, the vessels bound for Louisiana will not be permitted to unload any registered merchandise, unless there be legitimate proof by experts that the ships are unable to continue their voyage without being refitted or repaired; and in this case they shall pay at the port where they may be, for the effects and merchandise which they shall discharge, the duties which they should have paid at their exit from Spain, as well as the import duties in America.

## L

*Exemption of the Louisiana furs from the duties.*

The considerable advantages which may accrue to my subjects from the Louisiana furs move me to grant them a full exemption for a space of ten years from all duties at their entrance into the privileged ports of Spain, provided, of course, that when the furs are exported abroad they are to pay the duties in the second tariff on undressed skins exported from the kingdom.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*February 27, 1782*<sup>2</sup>

NEW ORLEANS, 27 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1782.

SIR: The opposition which I have met with from Mr. Alexander Henderson, Overseer to the Estate belonging to my particular Friends Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Willing & Morris and myself, is perhaps without President the Inclosed Papers (which after Perusall I hope you'll return with

<sup>2</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2370 (English).

your answer) which I make no doubt apologize for my troubling your honor on this Occasion.

I come now to acquaint your honor that the said overseer, has no legal or Sufficient Authority for Opposing my Sale, and I flatter myself that your Tribunal is too upright to be amused any longer, by such an Imposter, the Affair is of too much importance to remain in the air, Particularly when the opponent has neither Character friends or Effects, to answer the Consequences, the Property (which he has now Abandoned, & left to the mercy of the Slaves), is not only Intrusted to my Care without reserve, but also ordered for the Publick use, to pay the Debts of the United States, to your Government. In Consequence I beg leave to acquaint your honor that if I am longer Detained or Opposed in making said sales as Agent of said States, I shall enter a regular protest against such proceedings. therefore you'll please take what Steps your honor may think proper with the Opponent or Opponents so that no Injury may arise to the Publick Credit of the United States, or Proprietors hereafter.

The recitude justice and Equity of your Tribunal, & your Personall good Character urges me to hope, for the necessary Dispatch upon this Important business, which Exclusive of the Obligation that the United States and the Proprietors will be to your Honor, will also greatly add to the Personal Esteem I have always attained for

Sir, Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & Most humble Servant.

OLB. POLLOCK (Rubric).

His honor Col. STEPHEN MIRÓ Esq<sup>r</sup>.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*April 2, 1782.\**

MY DEAR SIR: I shall keep to myself the news Your Lordship communicates regarding Charles-Town, leaving the district with the thought that the English royalists have lost this town.

The Yazoos who arrived with their medals and gorgets informed me that they had received nothing as a present from the cargo which came in the boat of the King. I have received the goods for them and the other Indians, but there is such scarcity that I shall have some difficulty to satisfy them until the weather permits that they be given their blankets of linen and woolen cloth, jackets, and other customary articles. For them I have ball without powder but I shall furnish it from the storehouse of this post. The medals and gorgets

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\*BL.

have no attached ribbon, so that it will become necessary for me to buy it, as it is indispensable to adorn them.

I beg that God may preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.  
NATCHEZ, *April 2, 1782.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

# RODGERS TO POLLOCK

[1782] \*

OLIVER POLLOCK Esq<sup>r</sup>.

SIR: Being an American Subject & born in Virginia, I have remain'd in prison these three months past for no crime, as will appear in the following part of this, & as I know the Governor's charitable disposition to the distress'd, hope he will enlarge me when my Case is laid before him, which I would have done before, but as a stranger had no friend to speak for me. I have therefore taken the liberty of requesting that Charity from you, which you have shown to so many others, who were in the same unhappy situation.

The cause of my detention is this; I was hired to go to the nation by one Russell Jones, to bring horses to the natches, that as soon as I came back to the Natches, I went to the Commandant & told him where I had been, who seem'd to be very well pleas'd; a few days afterwards, I had a dispute with Duck McIntosh, who thro' spite went & told the Commandant that I went to the nation, to raise indians, which is a notorious falsehood, as I can't talk indian, besides there are people enough at the Natches who can prove that I was hired by this Russell Jones to bring horses; I came to this town in M<sup>r</sup>. Blommarts employ to carry that Gentl<sup>n</sup>. up to the Natches, but the Commandant wrote by the same Boat I came in, to the Governor, of this false report of McIntoshe's who sent me to prison where I now remain. This Sir is all, & the real cause of my detention.

Would You Sir favor me with your friendship in making application to the Governor, will always be gratefully acknowledg'd by him who is with the greatest respect

Sir, Your most humble servant

WILLIAM RODGERS

N. B. pray Excuse the paper.

\* AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

AFFIDAVIT BY POLLOCK <sup>5</sup>

I, Oliver Pollock, Agent of the United States of America and residing in this city, in the form prescribed by law, appear before Your Lordship and declare: That, as appears from the document which I duly submit, John Blommart is indebted to me for the sum of four hundred and seventy-two pesos, four reales and a half. However, the aforesaid person is imprisoned in the public jail of this city for having participated in the rebellion attempted at the post of Natchez. Therefore all his property has been confiscated as a result of this affair; and inasmuch as I am about to depart from this city, I am lacking funds and unable to satisfy various debts that I have outstanding here. In which consideration, may it please Your Lordship to command that I be reimbursed from the said property to the extent of the aforesaid sum.

Therefore, I pray Your Lordship to be pleased so to order and command, as I justly ask, with costs. I swear it is not with malice, and necessary, etc.

OLR. POLLOCK (Rubric).

Acknowledge, swear and witness the contents of this petition, record and then return.

MIRÓ (Rubric).

POSTIGO (Rubric).

EXAMINATION OF POLLOCK'S COMMISSION  
FROM JEFFERSON

*April 20, 1782* <sup>6</sup>

I, Oliver Pollock, public agent of the United States of America, by means of attorney, to whom, in case of necessity, I propose to confer my powers as provided by law, but with the reservation of retaining those which may assist me in my defense, appear before Your Lordship and state: That I should appreciate having the two letters which I duly enclose, written in the English language, translated into Spanish by Captain Don Juan José Duforest, and then returned to me, in order that I may promote and justify thereby whatever is conducive to my indemnification.

Therefore, I beg Your Excellency, upon receipt of these letters, to be pleased to order and command what I justly ask, and with costs. I swear it is not with malice and necessary, etc.

Likewise, and in order to avoid any difficulty or doubt that might be entertained by any of my creditors as to whether the commission conferred on me by His Excellency, the Governor of Virginia, Mr.

<sup>5</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

<sup>6</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

Thomas Jefferson, is valid or not, will Your Lordship be pleased to instruct Don Manuel Andrés López de Armesto, government secretary, to attach to the foot of these petitions a certified copy of the letter that the said Excellency, the Governor of Virginia, addressed, under date of the eighth of November, 1779, to His Excellency Señor Don Bernardo de Gálvez on this matter. And in order that this business may not be hindered and that some other matters contained in said letters in no way related to this may not become public, will Your Lordship please order that the said copy which I have requested contain only the part concerned with authorizing my commission, and have same delivered to me, *Ut supra*.

Likewise, for greater proof of my integrity and to show the sincerity with which I have proceeded, by virtue of the authority given me therefor, will Your Lordship please order that in the presence of the same notary there be made an examination and comparison of the signature subscribed to the letter referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Likewise, may the same thing be done for the one found at the foot of the letter written to me, already mentioned, certifying to the identity of both the one and the other, *ut supra*.

OLIVER POLLOCK (Rubric)  
RAFAEL PERDOMO (Rubric)

Do as he requests *in toto*.

MIRÓ (Rubric).

So ordered by Señor Don Estevan Miró, colonel of the fixed regiment of this post, and political and military governor *ad interim* of this province, and signed by him on the twentieth of April, 1782.

LEONARDO MAZANGE (Rubric).

*Notary Public.*

*Notification:*

I certify that on said day I notified Don Oliver Pollock in person.

LEONARDO MAZANGE (Rubric).

*Notary.*

*Notification:*

I certify that on said day I notified Don Juan José Duforest in person.

LEONARDO MAZANGE (Rubric).

*Notary.*

In the City of New Orleans, on said day, month and year Don Juan José Duforest, sworn interpreter of the English language in this province, before me, the Notary, proceeded to make the translation commanded of him, as follows:

Messrs. Penet, Dacosta Brothers and Company.

Virginia Committee of Commerce, *November 6, 1779.*

SIRs: His Excellency, the governor, on and with the advice of the Council of State, has instructed us to authorize Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of New Orleans, to draw on you for the sum of sixty-five thousand, eight hundred and fourteen pesos and five eights; in consequence of which we have sent the said gentleman four letters of this tenor and date, in case any be lost; and as your Mr. Penet must certainly be fully advised as to the conditions of the agreement made with your firm on the part of the States, we doubt not that you will honor Mr. Pollock's drafts on you for the sum abovementioned.

We have the honor to be, Sirs,

Your most humble servants,

THOMAS JEFFERSON  
J. AMSTERS  
DUN  
ROSE

Another:

Virginia Committee of Commerce, *November 6, 1779.*

Mr. Oliver Pollock.

SIR: The Commissioners of Commerce are this day directed by His Excellency, the Governor, to acknowledge receipt of your letter to the former governor, and are also empowered, in case that the request to the governor of New Orleans for a loan of specie does not meet with the success desired, to authorize you to draw on Messrs. Penet, Dacosta Brothers and Company for the total of the various amounts advanced by you for account of the States, with the exception of the sum of two thousand, six hundred and two pesos and four reales, drawn by Captain James O'Hara. The Committee being entirely ignorant of this transaction, desires an explanation of this matter in your reply so that, in case it has been duly authorized, the money may be refunded. You will receive herewith four letters of advice for Messrs. Penet, Dacosta Brothers and Company, all of the same tenor and date, for your convenience in drawing and we here shall miss no opportunity of advising these gentlemen.

The governor of New Orleans will receive by this opportunity a letter from His Excellency relative to a loan, and we flatter ourselves that by means of this you will be reimbursed more promptly and consequently that you will not need to make use of the credit on the firm of Messrs. Penet, Dacosta Brothers and Company.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most humble servants,

THOMAS JEFFERSON      DUN  
J. AMSTERS              ROSE

Which translation the interpreter asserted he had made well and faithfully to the best of his knowledge and understanding, and signed same, to which I certify.

DON JUAN JOSEF DUFOREST (Rubric).

Before me, LEONARDO MAZANGE (Rubric).

*Notary Public.*

*Comparison:*

In the City of New Orleans, on said day, month and year, I, the notary, by virtue of the instructions of the foregoing decree, proceeded to the secretariat of this government and there with Don Andrés López de Armesto, Secretary *ad interim* thereof, have examined the file labeled *Foreign Letters*, and in it have found a letter, addressed to His Excellency Señor Don Bernardo de Gálvez, by the governor of Virginia, at the foot of which is a signature reading: "Thomes Jefferson," which is similar and appears to be written by the same hand as those which are found at the foot of the letters presented herewith, and in order that what is presented here may be certified, it is signed by the said Don Andrés López de Armesto and certified by myself.

LEONARDO MAZANGE (Rubric).

*Notary Public.*

ANDRÉS LÓPEZ DE ARMESTO (Rubric).

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*April 27, 1782<sup>7</sup>*

NEW ORLEANS, 27th. April 1782.

SIR: In consequence of the different Suits brought against my Person & Effects for Certain Bills of Exchange Drawn by the direct order of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Executive of the State of Virginia My Master, to whom alone I conceive myself Accountable; but more Particular Transactions of this Publick Nature, of which the holders of the Bills cannot plead Ignorance, Either of my Station, or the Nature of the Bills, which they received totally upon the faith of the States, as will better appear by the Express Words in said Bills Viz<sup>t</sup> (Que Passerez Suivant Savis Des Commissaires De la Virgine) which State I am fully assured will make ample Satisfaction to the Holders of those Bills & all her Creditors, but the Casualties in Warr, has yet prevented them from doing it, for which I presume would be very Cruel & uncommon to make me or my Private fortune Answerable. Though the latter I have already Voluntarily advanced, and Strained every Nerve for the good of the Common Cause and

<sup>7</sup> AGI, PC. leg. 2370 (English).

as will better appear by the Hon<sup>bl</sup>.<sup>e</sup>. the Congress my Masters & His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup>. Galvez's Letters; Wherein both has been pleased with my Conduct and even Thanked me for my Services.

But for your better Government in the decision of the present Suit or Suits & Extraordinarily brought and Executed on my person, I have the Honor to Inclose you Sundry Papers relative to my Prerogative taken from Monsieur Vattel Judge of the Laws of Nations, which I now Avail myself of, as the Publick Service requires my Departure in the Brig<sup>t</sup>. Minerva Capt<sup>n</sup> John Douglas, in Consequence of which I hope your Honor will Immediately grant me my Necessary Passport, for my Departure in the said Brig<sup>t</sup> which now Only waits to Conduct me to Such Place & Places as I shall Direct. I have the Honor to be with Great Respect  
Sir Your Honors Most Obedient & very Humble Servant.

His Honor:

OLR. POLLOCK (Rubric).

STEPHEN MIRO

*Esquire Gov<sup>r</sup>. par Interim—Louisiana.*

# SALE OF PROPERTY BELONGING TO ENGLISH PRISONERS

*May 6, 1782<sup>s</sup>*

Results of the public sale of the goods of the fugitive rebels and others in the prisons of New Orleans, the fees of the judge, constables, interpreters, employees, and payments or remittances made to various parties in confirmity with justifying vouchers annexed to the minutes, being deducted.

Auction of those named below	Liquid proceeds		
	<i>piastres</i>	<i>reales</i>	<i>maravedis</i>
Philip Alston .....	803	2	...
Walteth Graham .....	18	4	...
Jean Leyman .....	37	2	...
Nathaniel Johnson .....	...	...	...
Sixins Dreght .....	25	3	...
Nemiah Carter .....	26	...	...
Parker Caradine .....	364	4	...
Israel Mathus .....	30	1	...
Jenkins .....	52	...	...
Jacob Winfrée .....	854	2	...
Benjamin Day .....	50	4	...
Jacques Martin .....	7	4	...
Jean Smith .....	6	...	...
Philip Mulkey .....	16	4	...
Daniel Johnson .....	4	4	...
Jacob Hamsbray .....	328	4	...
Thomas—James .....	...	...	...
Guillaume Eason .....	...	2	...
Jean Turner .....	47	4	...
Jean Blommart .....	45	2	17
Guillaume Case .....	389	2	...
Powder belonging to the Illinois boat captured by the Rebels .....	16	4	...
Total .....	3,121	4	17

<sup>s</sup> AGI, PC, (French). This is from a photograph of a manuscript with no legajo number indicated.



Amounting to the sum of three thousand one hundred and twenty one piastres, four reales, seventeen maravedis.

NATCHEZ, *May 6, 1782.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 6, 1782<sup>o</sup>*

MY DEAR SIR: I have distributed the medals and gorgets to the Indians of the villages who deserve them. There are lacking three captain's commissions for three of them to whom were given the gorgets. Until such time as your Lordship sends them to me, I shall give them in writing a paper that will identify them as "captains of the gorgets."

The chief with the great medal, Atchapale, with his nation, is coming this year to establish himself on the river Yazoo which will be to our convenience, as it will close the road to the Chickasaws as well as to the vagabonds in this district. This chief and all belonging to his village, are more friendly and faithful to us than any of the other nations. It is imperative that the presents for him and for the three chiefs of the small medal of the same village be sent to this post. There are also in that village five captains of the gorget, and the number of warriors totals eight hundred. I need in addition, two small medals, four gorgets, and one-half dozen braided jackets.

We no longer have any brandy, supplies of any kind, or munitions for the Indians. Because of lack of the aforementioned articles, the various nations who might come any moment would place us in great embarrassment.

I have just learned that the band at whose head is Guillermo Pontoney is opposed to the interpreter, San Germain. This is attributable to the fact that the latter, acting upon my orders, led a body of Indians, who were dispatched against the robber, John Turner, and his gang with instructions to take them dead or alive. This was done immediately after I had the news that they had captured a launch of Don Eugenio Poirá, who fortunately escaped from their hands, as I have already notified Your Lordship.

I remain begging that God may preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 6, 1782.*

Your most obedient servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>o</sup> BL.

## GÁLVEZ TO GRIMAREST

*May 14, 1782*<sup>10</sup>

The settlement on the river, solicited by the Alibamones, is hereby sanctioned, since, according to your letter of February 12th last, you have deemed it advisable. Your Lordship's notification must precede its establishment. Notice thereof is to be forwarded to the provisional commandant, Don Esteban Miró, and to the governor of Pensacola, so that, should any objections be offered by either one, you may be advised.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

GUARICO, *May 14, 1782.*

B DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ENRIQUE GRIMAREST.

DISCONTENT AMONG THE TALAPOOSA<sup>11</sup>

APALACHE, *Wednesday 9 o'clock in the evening.*

SIR: I have the honor of informing you that the chiefs of the savages who are here, are now in my house where they have just gathered with their commissions and their medals which they have placed in the hands of Sieur Antoine, telling him that they had no need of all that, since they were as naked as they had been before receiving them. They stated that what little goods they received in New Orleans they had distributed to their warriors, and that they did not even have enough to satisfy them. They made many threats which Antoine will have the honor of repeating to you. To appease them, he told them that he was going to leave immediately to apprise you of the danger in which we find ourselves if these people leave in a dissatisfied mood. Antoine begged me to write this letter to certify the truth of all this, which I have done.

I have the honor of being, with perfect consideration,

Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

P. GADONA (Rubric).

Ten cows with their calves and one without calf were bought at a cost of 22 barrels of tafia.

P. G.

Request made by the Talapoosa savages

100 Barrels of tafia.      100 ba.

30 Shirts.      6 large kettles.      18.

30 Blankets.

40 Ells of Limbourg cloth.

<sup>10</sup> BL.

<sup>11</sup> BL, (French).

2 Barrels of powder of 12 1-2.

2 Barrels of shot. 50

One suit with braid.

Three pounds of vermillion.

One bag of salt.

[Addressed]:

To Monsieur Henrique Grimarest, Commandant of Mobile.

LABBADIE TO MIRÓ

May 22, 1782<sup>12</sup>

No. 1 (Translation)

WHITE RIVER, May 22, 1782.

SIR: Madame Cruzat will give Your Lordship a description of the unfortunate situation in which we found ourselves from the second to the twenty-first of this month.

We were captured by a band of pirates, composed of about one hundred whites and two Indians. We learned later that their force included about three hundred whites and the tribe of Chickasaws of whom about two hundred and fifty appeared some days later.

Your Lordship will please permit me to repeat to you something of what those miscreants said.

They told me that they detested our nation, and that, if I had any relatives or friends in Arkansas, I should tell them to withdraw within seven days because, if they did not do so, they would be taken and all put to the sword. They said that from there they would go down to Natchez to blockade the fort and allow the inhabitants there to withdraw but those who declined to do so would be put to the knife, and that they would then leave this fort bare.

They told me that they were expecting a colonel, a fugitive from Natchez, with two regiments, to conquer the Ylinoeses, and from there go down to the capital.

They left me shirtless, with only a pair of leather breeches.

The misfortune also included Madame Cruzat, but she, through the pity of some of those pirates, was able to retain some of her things. As for the other goods, the money to pay the garrison of Ylinoeses, articles of apparel for the same, and presents for the Indians, they left me without a single shirt.

Out of consideration for Madame Cruzat they sold us the *lanchon*, after our repeated requests made them see that this lady could not travel by another boat.

I cannot tell Your Lordship of the barbarity of this canaille, which reached the utmost extremes.

All that I have the honor of telling Your Lordship is the pure

<sup>12</sup> AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-3-10.

truth without embellishment or amplification, and with the most profound respect, I beg Your Lordship to believe me, one of your most faithful subjects.

Your most humble and obedient servant.

SILVESTRE LABBADIE (Rubric).

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 26, 1782*<sup>13</sup>

Translation No. 6

AT THE FORT OF NATCHEZ, *May 26, 1782.*

Rumors have spread among the inhabitants of this district about the Americans recently arrived here who appear to have had bad intentions, or at least to have fled to this post on account of some crime committed in their own country. They are without passports, recommendations, or any document in their favor such as are usually obtained by those journeying to foreign countries.

I received secret advice on the suspicion aroused by the conduct of these people from the zealous and faithful subjects of His Majesty, Daniel Perry and St. Germain. They have kindly questioned one of these people, who with his family, has come with the others, and who wishes to show his conduct and person to be truly sincere, because he knows in effect some particulars relative to the arbitrary ideas that have been formed about them. Consequently we have had the said Thomas Etridge appear and we have asked him by means of the interpreter, Doctor Don Francisco Farrel, who are the people who came down with him; what their conduct was; whether they are Americans or English; if they had been in the service of the United States; what motives impelled them to abandon their own country and countrymen to come and settle in this province; if their intentions are good; if the property that they brought with them, consisting of slaves, is their own; if they had owned them in America; if they had brought with them arms, such as carbines, guns, artillery, and munitions, and if they had cached anything of this kind anywhere near the post; if they had encountered, seen or spoken to a certain Philip Mulkey, instigator of the rebellion in the district of Natchez, on the Cumberland River or on the Cherokee; if it is true that this Mulkey proposed to return next autumn with many people, that is, with families, or armed men without servants or slaves; if they would come down in large numbers and from different places; if they had encountered English encampments on the bank of the river; if it is true that they saw a *lanchon* loaded with corn and flour a little below the Barrancas de Margot which seemed to have been captured; if in

<sup>13</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

the neighborhood they saw signs of men; and finally what were the intentions and remarks of these Americans during their journey.

The said Thomas Etridge replied that those who came down with him are Americans by birth but not sentiment. Their conduct in America was always that of people who place themselves on the stronger side, now one, now the other, according to the success of the belligerent powers. They had profited by everything they could pillage from their countrymen. After having moved from place to place, as their interests demanded, or because of crimes they committed in different places, they conceived the plan of setting out to establish a settlement in the Illinois. They showed by their remarks the aversion they had to living under the Spanish government, on which point the declarant has heard them say a thousand times that they would rather the Devil should carry them off than to come to the Spanish possessions, unless the post of Natchez should pass into the power of the Americans. But at the mouth of the Ohio they assembled and consulted on the route they should follow, and finally by a plurality of votes they decided on going down to Natchez. During the course of their journey on the Cherokee River they were continually attacked by the Indians, but as regards the papers, furniture, and provisions that these Americans have declared they threw into the water, this is false, as they threw away some, but only a few. Of the Negroes that they own or which have been brought here by the one named David Smith, six were stolen, and these same Negroes will say and declare the name of their masters in case they are so required. William Smith, brother of the former, also has a stolen Negress and a child. It is suspected that a large part of the slaves brought by Thomas Green were similarly obtained. As regards the others, they have acquired their slaves by the proceeds of the sale of their property. It is probable that part of these Americans, that is, those who have perpetrated these thefts, have abandoned their country in order to enjoy, far from any anxiety, the fruits of their pillage. They had brought many firearms, guns, and carbines, and one cannon that has been transported to the Fort of Natchez. They have not deposited any arms anywhere near the post. Thomas Green may have some thirty pounds of powder and much ball. This Thomas Green was a maker of powder, and it is his trade or profession. They saw the said Philip Mulkey in Carolina and he had told them that he would return this autumn with many people. At the Barrancas de Margot they encountered a deserted *lanchon*, loaded with flour and corn, which certainly had been captured but they had not had time to unload it. These Americans had consulted as to whether they would go down to Natchez or not and it was decided that they would not touch at this post. They saw from afar, before reaching

this *lanchon* a canoe in which there must have been eight men, but when they arrived, these had disappeared. On the bank there was a breastwork of logs, placed one on the other, with interwoven branches, which is all that they know. Regarding the remarks of these Americans, they have always been like those of suspicious persons, and a few days before their arrival at Natchez, David Smith threatened to take the declarant's life if he said anything. The said declarant signed this, together with us, the commandant and undersigned witnesses with the exception of Daniel Perry, who declared he cannot write.

THOMAS ETRIDGE  
 FRANCIS FARRELL  
 ST. GERMAIN  
 DON JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE  
 FRANCISCO MANUEL DE LAS CAGIGAS

Before me,

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

NAVARRO TO GÁLVEZ

*June 4, 1782*<sup>14</sup>

No. 120.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The arrival here of the wife of the commandant of Illinois, who set out from here to go to that post with her children and family, and the detailed report which she makes about the enemies who took her prisoner and who are now at the place called the Ecors à Margot, three hundred leagues from this capital, show us clearly that they will cause us all the trouble they can in order to cut communication on the Mississippi. Moreover, in conjunction with the rebels at Natchez, any attack on the post of Illinois will be feasible, and they will at least succeed in stopping the goods sent to that distant post to cajole the Indians and keep them peaceful and quiet and friendly to us.

This situation, together with the reports received that they are sending from Georgia some troops to operate in conjunction with the abovementioned party, and the very large number of savages which they have, has aroused fears that they could attack with notable effect the important fort of Natchez and subsequently all the others in this province. This has made the colonel of army and present governor ad interim thereof, Don Estevan Miró, decide with his customary wisdom, and as a good servant of the King, after having taken all the most effective and energetic steps to have all the posts, even the most

<sup>14</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

distant ones, prepared against surprise, to go in person with a reinforcement of two hundred men, some field artillery and equipment, and a good assortment of gifts for the Indians. Even if this does not succeed in dislodging the enemy, because of their great distance from our settlement, and does not assure their retreat, his presence in Natchez will inspire in them more circumspection and disabuse them of any idea of conquest; and perhaps even his kindness, his knowledge of them, and the goods he is taking for the savages may cause the latter to abandon our enemies and the party to disband. However, if none of this is achieved, it will be something to stop their advance, to protect the colony, and assure the peace and tranquillity of its inhabitants. For this reason, he informed me that I should proceed to prepare everything needed in the way of transport, artillery, provisions, and everything else I thought necessary for the maintenance of the reinforcements; and I have neglected nothing in order that he may set out on the fifteenth of this month. To all this I have added an adequate field hospital, together with the indispensable servants, under the orders of the head official of this *contaduría principal*, Don Antonio Chouriac, a man of well-known ability.

Your Excellency knows that none of these operations can be carried out without expense, and although I am lacking the main requisite and prime mover of everything, that is, ready money, I shall not fail to exert every effort in the same way and with the same love as I have on all the other expeditions which have been equipped under my direction on this river.

I report this to Your Excellency, and beg that you will obtain from His Majesty's kindness the full approval which I seek.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 4, 1782.*

Most Excellent Sir, your faithful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ.

*(Attached to the foregoing)*

To the intendant of Louisiana, approving the decision of that governor ad interim to go up to the post of Natchez with two hundred men in order to defend it from the attacks of the enemy; for which reason the expense incurred in the preparation of transport, equipment, etc. is approved.

The King has considered opportune and advisable the decision of that governor ad interim to go up to the post of Natchez with two hundred men in order to defend it from the attacks of the enemy,

and nip in the bud the alliance which they have formed with the savages there.

Consequently the King has approved the expenditures which Your Lordship may have made for the preparation of transport, equipment, provisions, and other goods which Your Lordship, in accord with the said governor, has considered necessary for that purpose.

I advise Your Lordship of this in reply to your letter of June 4 last, No. 120.

May God etc.

SAN LORENZO, *October 14, 1782.*

Señor Intendant of Louisiana.

#### GRIMAREST TO PAYEMATAHA

*June 11, 1782*<sup>15</sup>

MOBILE *June 11th, 1782.*

*To Payemataha Great Chief of the Chickasaw Nation.*

#### GREETINGS:

The governor and great chief of New Orleans, Don Estevan Miró, desires to have a conference with you, and awaits you in Natchez to discuss matters of importance that will be advantageous and beneficial to you and your nation.

Your early response is awaited. I myself reiterate that you should go as soon as possible to the aforesaid Natchez, for your prompt departure will redound in benefit to you and your nation.

I am your friend. I have proofs that you wish to be mine by the peace pipe which I have received from the hand of one of your principal men. I am convinced that your nation has played no part in the attack lately perpetrated on the Mississippi River.

It is my wish to serve you, and begging the Almighty for your preservation, I remain,

HENRIQUE GRIMAREST, Governor  
and Chief of Mobile (Rubric).

#### MAXENT TO PIERNAS

*June 16, 1782*<sup>16</sup>

*Señor Governor.*

MY DEAR SIR: After placing myself in obedience to Your Excellency, I wish to make known to you that at the present moment we are considerably worried at this place because a great number of Indians are wandering about the neighborhood. They are doing injury to the

<sup>15</sup> BL.

<sup>16</sup> BL.



poor inhabitants, for there is not an animal belonging to them that they do not kill. This demands constant vigilance on our part, and the daily work of our troops becomes increasingly great and unbearable, for they are subject to constant toil because of those sick. I should greatly esteem it if Your Excellency were to send me six men, three hundred pounds of gun powder, and six swivel guns of one-half pound in order to give protection to the corners of the fort. This will place it completely in a position of defense and free it from attack.

The work is progressing rapidly because twenty men irrespective of the volunteer troops are at work daily. I trust Your Excellency will make special efforts to have the gun powder sent to me quickly because we have but little in case of an attack. With the quantity that I here request, we shall have ample for all contingencies.

I make known to Your Excellency that we have had great floods because of much rain. The bayou has so risen that there were no plants left above water, and the poor inhabitants have despaired of being able to gather a grain of corn. This I regret exceedingly because it is the year when all the inhabitants, by reason of my zeal, had applied themselves to the work. At this time, in my opinion, the waters have rotted everything. Should you find it convenient, kindly notify the general of this loss. Your Excellency may determine whether you can give rations to these families because today they are undergoing a thousand calamities. As there is nothing else to discuss, I beg that God may preserve the life of Your Excellency many years.

GALVESTOWN, *June 16, 1782.*

Your most obedient servant kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

ANTONIO MAXENT (Rubric).

Señor DON PEDRO PIERNAS.

#### DECLARATION OF LABBADIE

*July 5, 1782*<sup>17</sup>

At the town of St. Louis of Ylinueses, on the fifth day of the month of July of the year 1782:

Don Silbestre Labadia, merchant and citizen of the town named, who came from the fort of Carlos III of Arkansas, arrived at this town by land on the 29th of last month and gave me the information that the boat which was coming up on his account from the city of New Orleans to this post bringing various merchandise and money belonging to the King for the maintenance of the troops of this garrison, and presents for the Indian nations, had been seized at Los

<sup>17</sup> BL.

Ecores de Margo and all the people on it taken prisoner by a party of rebels and pirates who call themselves English. Therefore, I, Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry, captain of grenadiers of the regular regiment of Louisiana, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western part of Ylinueses and its districts, have caused Don Silbestre Labadia to appear before me, in the presence of the captains of the said regiment, Don Jacobo Dubreuil and Don Joseph López de la Peña, assisting witnesses summoned for this purpose, so that he might give in proper form his declaration of everything that happened to him on his voyage, and state how long he was kept a prisoner by the rebels mentioned above. His declaration is as follows:

#### DECLARATION OF DON SILBESTRE LABADIA

Immediately, I the aforesaid lieutenant governor, caused Don Silbestre Labadia to appear before me, in the presence of the assisting witnesses, and after making him raise his right hand and make with it the sign of the cross, I asked him if he swore before God and promised the King to speak the truth on the point about which he was to be interrogated.

##### *Reply.*

He swears and promises.

##### *Question.*

What is his name, country, and occupation, and what religion does he profess; and of what place is he a resident?

##### *Reply.*

His name is Silbestre Labadia; he is a native of Tarbe, a province of Bigore in France; his religion is Apostolic Roman Catholic; his profession, merchant, and he is a resident of this town of St. Louis.

##### *Question.*

When did he arrive last at this town and whence did he come? Let him make a detailed statement of everything that happened to him on the voyage that he has just made.

##### *Reply.*

On the 22d of February he left the city of New Orleans bound for this aforesaid town of St. Louis, in one of his boats loaded with goods of his own, of the King, and of various individuals of these settlements. On arriving at a point some fifteen leagues from the aforesaid city on the coast of the Acadians, he met the merchant Don Eugenio Alvarez who was coming down from the Ylinueses, and, when the witness asked him what news there was, he replied that among the Ylinueses all was perfectly quiet, and that only at Ecores de Margo did he notice something that led him to believe that there was some one there taking observations. He then con-

tinued his voyage as far as the fort of Natchez. Don Carlos de Grand-Pré, the commandant, told him that several days before some twenty men of those settlers had escaped from the province, and apparently had taken refuge in the aforesaid Ecores de Margo, but that they could not do him any harm.

Setting out again on his journey, he arrived at the Three Islands, between the aforesaid fort of Natchez and that of Arkansas, where he met the Caddos named Sabinaque and Cadien, nicknamed "the Osage," who were coming down with mail to the capital, having been sent by Don Balthazar de Villiers. The said Cadien told the witness that during the course of the winter, while he was hunting near the Ecores on the east side of this river with a companion, the two were lost in the woods for some days. On the bank of a small lake they found a hiding-place, called in this country a *cache*, in which there was a large quantity of powder, ball, merchandise, dried meat, flour, maize, and other provisions and goods. They slept in this *cache* one night, and then, after taking from it a bottle of ink, paper, an inkstand, a *cerre-tete* or a linen headdress, some handkerchiefs, and shirts, they returned to their camp. They had also found in the neighborhood of that deposit two pirogues full of bear's fat and tallow.

They immediately returned to the fort of Carlos III of Arkansas and informed the commandant of all that had occurred, showing him what they had taken from the *cache* mentioned, and Madame de Villiers instantly recognized these articles as belonging to the people of a boat which had set out a little while before from the aforesaid fort of Arkansas, loaded with provisions and goods for the St. Francis River. This led everybody to believe that the boat had been seized and the people made prisoners or killed, as afterwards turned out to be true. The aforesaid Cadien begged Don Balthazar de Villiers to give him twenty men, or less, with the object of getting possession of the *cache* mentioned above or of burning or destroying it, whichever circumstances permitted. Despite all the reasons given and the substantiated evidence presented by the aforesaid Cadien to the commandant of Arkansas, the latter refused his consent. This was an unreasonable refusal in a matter so important and is one which gave rise to the presumption that it might be the prelude to some project formed by the rebels escaped from Natchez against the navigators of this river and against the forts on its bank. It induced the aforesaid Cadien to go down to the fort of Natchez and renew his solicitation to the commandant in regard to the plan of destroying the said deposit, and in this way clean up the river, for which he made himself responsible and answered with his head. Don Carlos de Grand-Pré did not pay attention to anything he told him

of what was true and evident; and so he returned to the fort of Arkansas, from which he had come down to give information of all the foregoing to the governor general of the province.

The witness continued his journey, and on reaching a point some fifteen leagues below Death's Head, he met Meson the Frenchman, former constable of New Orleans. The latter told the witness that he came by way of the Ohio River from Virginia, one of the united provinces of Northern America, and that along the river everything was extremely quiet. In fact he had not observed in his descent anything that could be prejudicial to the witness nor prevent his arrival at his destination. He gave gratuitously and without charge to the aforesaid Meson all the provisions that he said he needed to reach the city of New Orleans, to which he said he was going. The witness then continued on his way until he arrived at the aforesaid Death's Head where he met Joseph Motard who was going down from this part of Ylinueses. He told him that around there the greatest tranquility reigned, and that on his journey he had not met with any obstacle, and that the witness in seven or eight days would meet Monsieur Lafon's boat, which was to leave the town of Ste. Geneviève.

Continuing his journey, he arrived at the old fort of Arkansas, where he found five men of the troop. From there he despatched to Ylinueses the passenger on his boat, Joseph Hortiz, with letters for the commandant and lieutenant governor of these settlements, Don Francisco Cruzat, to whom he communicated the information that he had received, notifying him that he was taking up goods for them on his boat. He immediately went on his way, until, on the second of May, about seven in the morning, while coasting along the west side of this river, the witness perceived a boat, which had a pirogue fastened to its stern, tied to shore on the same side opposite the river Margot. The witness, believing that it might be the boat of Monsieur Lafon which he was to meet at any moment, made his men raise their oars, and when near the boat he hailed it: "Boat ahoy! Where are you from, and who is the commander?"

To this hail two men replied who were walking on land near the aforesaid boat, for there was no one on board except two other men who were bailing out the water that was in it: "We come from Illinois, and the master of the boat is Monsieur Lafon."

They then asked the witness, "Are you Monsieur Labadia?"

To this the latter replied, "Yes, Señor."

The two men mentioned then went on to ask, "Is Madam Cruzat there with her family?"

He replied "Yes, Señor."

They continued asking, "How are you all? Are you well?"

To this he responded by saying, "At your service," and they continued with, "Here are some letters from Don Francisco Cruzat and refreshments for the commandant's wife, and also for you, which your family, who are well, sent to you, with word that they are impatiently awaiting you at the Ylinueses. If you wish, come and get these letters and refreshments."

They showed some papers which one of the two men had in his hand. The witness, having seen and heard all this and being assured by some persons that they knew it was Monsieur Lafon's boat went on and, passing to the starboard of the boat, ordered the rope thrown ashore. It was caught by one of the men mentioned above and tied. At the moment when the witness, who was in the center of his boat, went to take the first step to leap ashore, and go to take the letters they were showing him, some forty men rushed out furiously from a trench not seen before which ran along the edge of the river near Lafon's boat. These men, raising their muskets and carbines and pointing them at the breasts of all the people in the witness's boat, cried out in clear and intelligible French, "Surrender! You are our prisoners, and if you move or shake your head we will fire upon all of you and kill you, for we are each one of us in a position to fire and, therefore, surrender or you will be entirely sacrificed."

An event so unexpected as well as extraordinary could do nothing less than take us all by surprise and leave us all motionless, for no one dared to move. Nevertheless, the witness asked them "Who are you who ambush us in this fashion?"

They replied, "We are Englishmen. Surrender!"

The witness then asked "Where is your flag?"

"Here," they said, showing their arms, which they kept always in the position to fire.

The witness continued, "And your orders?"

They replied, "Here they are," pointing to the powder and ball in their guns.

To these arguments there was no answer but to surrender, for defense was morally impossible, as is evident. Then, while half of the enemy remained in the same violent and threatening position, the other half ran with speed to disarm and bind all of those on the captured boat, even to the young Don Joseph Cruzat, whom they treated with the same ignominy as the rest of the prisoners. At the same time one of the inhuman brigands ran towards Madame Cruzat with his tomahawk raised, with an impetuous movement as though he meant to cleave her skull, which the scoundrel was miraculously prevented from doing by the lady, who, with a courage truly heroic in a woman of her quality and delicate constitution, arrested the arm

of her cruel adversary. It was doubtless true also that at this moment a realization of the atrocity of his intention came to the evildoer.

After having effected this maneuver with great quickness, always with an eye open for the movements of the poor captive ones, all the rest of the rebels embarked in the boat of the witness and crossed over to the east side of this river, where they entered immediately into the Margot River in the same boat, which was now loaded with the prisoners. They went as far as a quarter of a league from its mouth, where they made the prisoners go ashore, and, after tying them together in couples, sent them to a prison which they have three quarters of a league from the last-named site on the bank of the river and in the same Bluffs, forcing them to traverse woods and thickets full of thorns, almost impassable streams, plains full of sticky mud, and extremely rugged hills. They also, with the greatest inhumanity, compelled the witness, Madame Cruzat, and all her family to traverse this road, unmoved by compassion for those unfortunate young children. Finally, after great sufferings crowded into that short time, all arrived, almost without breath, at the site of their captivity. In that first and uncomfortable jail all the prisoners remained until the next day, when they were again led over the same road, including the witness, the lady, and the family mentioned above, to the boat, which was still at the same place where they had left it, with all its cargo. When they reached it, they made the people go on board and continued their journey, following the course of the river mentioned for five leagues.

At that interior spot they ordered all the prisoners ashore and kept them there until the next day, when they locked them in a temporary jail which they made of logs laid one upon the other, and from which they could not by any means escape. Only the witness, Madame Cruzat, and her family were left unbound. The pirates then swiftly unloaded all the goods and money in the boat and divided everything among themselves, not leaving a single thing to the prisoners except what they had on them, and of that only the poorest. The slaves they sold among themselves to the highest bidder. In this last mentioned matter they treated them all with the inhumanity that might be expected of such malicious people, giving them very little to eat and changing their intentions every day in regard to the fate destined for them.

They kept them there twenty-one days, and on the 22d of the same month of May they despatched the witness to New Orleans in his own boat, which they sold to him for four hundred pesos, making him give a three months' promisory note and demanding one for two hundred and fifty pesos for one of his own Negroes, whom he ransomed with a great deal of difficulty. These notes were to be sent

to New Orleans for collection, and they sent with the witness eleven men of his crew, Madame Cruzat and her children, and a Negress belonging to the aforesaid lady. But they only succeeded in obtaining their liberty through repeated and constant requests with which the witness and the said lady daily tired the ears of their enemies. All those mentioned set out on the journey, leaving the rest of the unfortunates in their miserable jail. Among them was Joseph Crespo, a soldier of this garrison.

Continuing down the river, the witness found, thirty leagues from the entrance of the Arkansas River, three boats belonging to these settlements which were coming up from the capital to this destination. With them came the lieutenant of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, Don Luis Vilar, to whom I gave information of this event. The masters of these boats decided to return to the said fort of Arkansas. At the mouth of that river the witness sent his boat to the city of New Orleans with the people mentioned, Madame Cruzat and her children. He wrote to the governor general of the province and presented himself to the commandant of Arkansas, Don Balthazar de Villiers, whom he informed of all that had happened which he had just finished communicating to the capital. He set out with other persons belonging to the three boats mentioned above from the post of Arkansas on the 31st of the same month of May for this town of St. Louis, where he arrived on the 29th of last June after ten o'clock at night, and made known this unfortunate matter to the commandant and lieutenant governor of this district.

*Question.*

In the time that he was a prisoner what important conversations did he have with the brigands who captured him? Who commands them? What is their number? What kind of people are they? How are they governed? What communication have they with the Chickasaws or with other Indian nations? What are the boundaries of the land where they are? What does he think are the intentions of those rebels? Has he penetrated them or discerned them by any means or particular observation? In short, let him tell everything that he knows that may give any definite and certain idea of their projects and local situation.

*Reply.*

In the time of his imprisonment he had several conversations with the rebels, but the most important are the following: In the first, Colbert (who was the commandant of the party that captured him) told him that the reason for making war, as they were doing, was to take revenge for the bad treatment given to them in the colony. He said that, although they as well as the whole English nation knew they could not keep the colony, they would, in order to follow

out the intentions of the King of England, do all the harm that they possibly could, even to destroying its very foundations.

To this, which Colbert said with all the fury which desperation and atrocious malice can express, the witness replied that he found their treatment of the Spaniards very unjust, for the war, which Spain was making in Europe as well as on this continent, was founded on a just right, authentic, and joined with the rights of humanity and of peoples; and that the events of this war and the kind treatment received by the prisoners who fall into the power of the Spaniards demonstrate and prove the generosity of a nation as humane as it is civilized. The witness then went on to say to Colbert: "But among nations that are humane and without barbarity war is never made upon peaceful vassals who do not mix in it, and who conform blindly to the will of the Sovereign and the fortune of the State. Consequently you ought not to have taken me prisoner, for I attend to my business without meddling in matters that do not concern my profession."

Colbert replied, "I have not done you any harm further than to take you prisoner, for the goods that you say are yours, as well as the captured boat, belong to the King of Spain, and as such I have seized them; for I cannot but believe that in a boat belonging to an individual there would be sent on the account of the King some few articles for establishments as large and extensive as the Ylinueses; and it was enough, in fact, that there should be a parcel or a cask stamped with the mark of the King to know that all the rest of the goods were going for the same purpose." He added that he would give a certificate of this seizure, which he in fact did give to the witness, who, after he recovered his liberty, sent it to the governor general of the province in the letter which he has already said was written by Madame Cruzat.

Colbert also said to the witness, "Before I arrested you I already knew about your coming, who you were, on what day you left New Orleans, what cargo you were bringing, in short everything that was necessary for me to know in order to seize you, as I have done. In proof of this you may see here a letter from the capital." The witness did in fact see the letter, but could not read it because it was written in English, nor did he recognize the signature. The witness did all he could to get Colbert to give it to him, but never succeeded. This is all that passed between the witness and Colbert in their first conversation. The second was not less worthy of attention.

The witness being with Colbert, Colonel Malguibry,<sup>18</sup> and the man named Cily, second in command of the robber party, Colbert said, after speaking of other matters not at all important,

<sup>18</sup> Colonel McGillivray.



"If we had not taken you, Monsieur Labadia, we would now be masters of the fort of Arkansas, for we would have fallen upon it if you had delayed some days; but we shall not fail within six or seven days to carry out this project. We know also that the fort of Natchez is difficult to take at this time, but we shall blockade it within a short time, and, as we attack, we shall make it easy for those inhabitants who are not satisfied with the Spanish government to retire with their families and slaves; and in the case of those who do not wish to do this, and who abandon their possessions, we will destroy everything with fire and blood. If we cannot take the fort by causing its garrison to suffer from lack of provisions and munitions, we shall abandon the site, and retire satisfied with having done all the harm possible."

Colbert then went on, "Mr. Haricson (who is a colonel, escaped from Natchez) has gone to Georgia to look for two regiments. He ought to be back by autumn, and immediately upon his arrival all the English in the Chickasaw nation will unite with those of us who are here, with many Indians of the nation named, and some of the Choctaws to go and attack the Ylinueses. We know minutely their present situation, that only the town of St. Louis is fortified, and Ste. Geneviève is open on all sides, as well as the rest of Ylinueses. We are not ignorant that there is a very small garrison in the Spanish district and none at all in the American; and if we cannot possess ourselves of that country we will at least cause a general destruction that will make us well-known."

Colbert would have continued his narrative without doubt if Malguibry had not interrupted him by saying, "You talk very freely, and are making our projects known to a man who, if he is given his liberty today or tomorrow, will not forget to publish our intention, which will not be in any way favorable to us in carrying it out." This reproof immediately closed the mouth of Colbert, and he never again spoke to the witness of matters of this nature, except that before sending away the witness Colbert handed to him a sealed packet for the governor general of the province, which Madame Cruzat carried to deliver to the said governor.

The witness says that some days after he had been made prisoner there arrived at the camp in which he was detained a young man called Benjamin Fee,<sup>18a</sup> a Hollander. This person went immediately on his arrival to greet the witness and Madame Cruzat, saying to them, "I learned with sorrow in the Chickasaw nation, where I have taken refuge, of the misfortune which you have suffered. I regret deeply seeing you reduced to suffer the sad and painful situation in which you are, and the ill-treatment you receive at the hands

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<sup>18a</sup> Benjamin Fooy.

of this band of rascals. They are unworthy to be men and ignorant that they ought to be humane and should respect the sacred rights of peoples and of honor. In short I have come to see if I can serve you, and, if so, you may be assured of my services with complete confidence, and I will prove to you with repeated acts as far as I can that I am your true friend, and that I have a Spanish heart, as you will see. If I am with the Chickasaw Indians it is because my fatal destiny has involved me in an occurrence which I am going to relate to you."

He immediately began his narration in these words: "My name is Benjamin Fee, and I am a native of Holland. I have been several times in New Orleans and am known there by various persons (whom he named). Lately I was in Mobile, when the commandant of that post caused the arrest of Monsieur Adam (with whom I was staying and who was a resident of that settlement) because of an accusation made against him by one of his Negroes that he had aided the flight of a deserter from that garrison. I said to this Negro, 'Scoundrel, if you were mine, for having committed such a black deed I would cause you to be given one hundred lashes.' This which I said to him thoughtlessly had the most lamentable consequences for me, for this Negro went immediately to inform the commandant what I had said to him. The commandant immediately sent for me and without saying anything else read to me the sentence pronounced upon me. He assured me that if after two hours I was still in the territory of Mobile he would cause me to be hanged, and he put his unjust sentence into effect by causing me to be taken across a bayou immediately by some soldiers, who told me to get away from there as soon as possible. Seeing myself without recourse in a forest, not knowing to what land I could direct my steps in order to live in security, I went with the greatest repugnance to take refuge with the Chickasaw nation, where I have remained, concealing my pain and grief. If his Excellency, Don Bernardo de Gálvez, whose justice, generosity, and nobleness of heart I know by experience, knew of my innocence I do not doubt that he would absolve my sentence and would permit me to come back to his government and live in it as a good Spanish subject. This I have been and always shall consider myself to be, as you will learn from my actions while a cruel fate compels you and me to remain among this barbarous and unworthy rabble. One can have no confidence in them because they are people of different nations, who do not know or possess any humanity, honor, compassion, or virtue whatever. You may live in peace, certain that every day, but secretly (for I fear they distrust me), I will try to inform you of anything that I may learn of the intentions of these evil doers."

The witness says the promise was fulfilled by this honorable youth

with the greatest zeal and exactitude, and he proved his affection for the fatherland by doing for the prisoners in general, and particularly for the witness, Madame Cruzat and her children, everything that lay in his power to soften the hardships of the ill-fortune from which they were suffering. A few days before the boat was sent away he came to bid farewell, saying that he was returning to the Chickasaw nation because he had become suspected by the infamous bandits, and feared, if he remained longer, that his presence would perhaps in the future be disastrous to the prisoners. He therefore begged the witness and Madame Cruzat to intercede with the governor general to grant him his favor, and relieve him of his exile, in consideration of his innocence and proved good behavior. He promised that at the first hint in writing from the governor he would present himself wherever he was ordered to go. The witness and Madame Cruzat promised to do this as soon as they should obtain their liberty, and they gave him the thanks due to him for all that he had done in behalf of all the prisoners. Before his departure he assured the witness and the lady that all that Colbert had told them of his projects were his actual intentions, and that, if Haricson did not come with the two regiments which he had gone to seek in Georgia for the purpose of attacking the settlement of Ylinueses, it would be due to some occurrence as extraordinary as unexpected which would prevent him.

The witness states that the person in command of the party which took him prisoner is Colbert, a man of some sixty years, but in good health, with a strong constitution, active and capable of enduring the greatest hardships in war and possessing a violent temper. He has been known for more than forty years among the Chickasaws, Choc-taws, and various other nations of Indians. He is settled in the nation of the Chickasaws, where he has a very fine house, with some hundred and fifty Negroes, according to what he himself told the witness. This man is one of the greatest enemies of our nation, against which he is so angered that, notwithstanding the constant supplications of the witness and Madame Cruzat, he would never consent to set at liberty the soldier of this detachment, Joseph Crespo. He said in an insolent, ironic, and contemptuous tone, that the latter was a native Spaniard, and that as such he wished to keep him, for he esteemed the people of this nation highly, and that he wished all the rest of the prisoners were the same.

He also said to Madame Cruzat on the day of the capture of the boat, "I did not wish to catch you, but your husband; he escaped from me when he recently came up from the capital and I was coming down from the Iron Mine, where, while making an attack upon that American fort with five hundred Indians, I received three wounds,

which you see here (showing them to her), and that was the reason why I could not capture your husband, although I saw him when I was coming down the river and he was going up."

This Colbert has several sons (whom he has had by Chickasaw women), who are today very important chiefs in that nation, and by consequence their father is also. The abovementioned Cilly, second in command of this party of evil-doers, is a man of almost the same qualities, characteristics, wealth, and importance among the Indians as Colbert. Colonel Malguibri is highly considered among all the Indians of these nations. He was not concerned in the capture of the boat, but came some days after that with orders which were carried out, and which appeared to emanate from Monsieur Tranble who is in the aforesaid Chickasaw nation. The witness thinks that the latter is the principal head of the Chickasaws as well as of the rebels, for the reason that he is much loved, obeyed, and respected among both.

Although there were no more than forty men in the party which captured the witness and his boat and crew, every day many rebels came and went, and their number seemed to him to be some hundred and fifty, that is, those that he could see. The rebels themselves told him that with those that he saw and those who remained in the Chickasaw nation there were all together three hundred white men of different nations, English, American, and French, besides a Swiss called Francisco de Grange, who speaks many languages, and who deserted from the fort of Mobile, where he was a Spanish soldier. He is a man at least as inhuman and barbarous as the rest of his companions. The witness states that there are also in the Chickasaw nation, as he learned, some hundred Negro slaves of the abovementioned rebels. Apparently there are comprised in the number of these the indentured servants of Monsieur Lafon, Lebran, Petiton, and Basco, for the witness has seen them take up goods, divide them, and dispose of them, and in fact do everything that is done by the rebels themselves. The latter are composed of people from Natchez, Arkansas, Ylinueses, and in short of the different posts of the colony. Many of these brigands are known to the witness. It seems that the Chickasaw nation and part of the Choctaws are not much inclined in general towards the rebels, except towards the chiefs, Tranble, Colbert, Cilly, and Malguibry, so that the witness believes that although it may not be impossible, at least it will be very difficult to induce these Indians to deliver or allow to be arrested the above-named, no matter what efforts may be made.

The witness declares that the rebels keep a good guard, and an exact and well-disciplined service. They told him they had two outposts on the bank of the river, one fifteen leagues above the site where

they are, and the other fifteen leagues below; and that about a league and a half from the place where he was captured they had discovered the boat and listened to hear if the oarsmen spoke in Spanish. If they had learned by the language that they were of this nation, it was their intention to go to the spot where the capture took place and open a general fire on them, then leap aboard with their tomahawks to make an end to all of them, for it is against the Spaniards that their greatest wrath and desire to do evil is aroused. This is all that the witness had left to say of the situation of those rebels, for they have no fortification whatever at the place where he left them.

*Question.*

How many Spanish prisoners have the aforesaid brigands or pirates in their power?

*Reply.*

Of the whites and slaves, of his boat as well as that of Lafon, there are still thirty-four, and in the Chickasaw nation nine, four of the aforesaid boat from Arkansas, which had set out loaded, as he has already said, for the river of St. Francis, where five men were killed and the boat seized. The other five are a sergeant and four soldiers whom Colbert himself with his sons had made prisoners in Mobile. The witness says that he had forgotten to say that the said rebels asked him the following question:

"Have you met Monsieur Meson, the Frenchman?"

"Yes."

"Did he not say anything to you?"

"Nothing," said the witness, "except that everything was very quiet along the river, and that he had not observed in coming down anything that might be prejudicial to me or prevent my arrival at my destination."

To this they replied, "Meson is a good man; he has been here with us; he has given us provisions and rum; we told him our projects, and that we were waiting for you in order to take you prisoner, for we knew about your coming up. He gave us his word not to let you know about this; he has kept his promise; and he is a truly good man."

When the witness heard this he could not help thinking of the black treason with which Meson had deceived him, after he had aided him when he found him, as he has already described. For if this traitor had told him that the rebels were waiting for him at the Ecores, without doubt the witness would have retreated to the city of New Orleans, or would only have gone as far as Arkansas, where he would have awaited better circumstances for continuing his route to Ylinueses. The boat would not have been seized, nor, consequently, the goods of the King that were in it. The witness also says that a

little after his descent to Arkansas the corporal who acted as commandant in the old fort informed Don Balthazar de Villiers that some people who appeared to be enemies had been seen in the immediate neighborhood of the old fort. Immediately Don Balthazar de Villiers caused the aforesaid corporal with his four soldiers to retreat to the new establishment. The witness presumes that the persons seen might be scouts belonging to some party of the rebels who were coming to attack the aforesaid post of Arkansas, as they had assured him they would not be long in doing. The witness is ignorant of the results of this because he set out on the march by land immediately (after this report) in order to come and give information, as has been said, to Señor Don Francisco Cruzat of all that he has related, particularly of all the intentions of our enemies against these settlements. This is the only purpose of his coming to Ylinueses before going down to the capital of the colony.

*Question.*

Has he anything more to say or add or take away from his preceding declaration; is it the same as he has given; does he sign and ratify it, and what is his age?

*Reply.*

He has nothing to add or take away from his preceding declaration, which has been read to him and of which he has taken due notice. He declares it the same as he has given; and he affirms and ratifies it under the oath that he has taken. He is forty years old, and he signed it with the witnesses present as stated, and with me, lieutenant governor, on the same day, month, and year as above.

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

STRE. LABBAD (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

REPORTS OF BRITISH PLANS TO ATTACK SPANISH ILLINOIS

*July 8, 1782.<sup>19</sup>*

The Señores Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, Don Francisco Vallé, and Don Silbestre Labadia, all three residents of this district, have arrived in this town of St. Louis from the post of Carlos III of Arkansas bringing various reports among which is one very adverse to the preservation of these settlements. Therefore, in the town of St. Louis on the eighth day of July, 1782, I, Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant colonel of infantry, captain of grenadiers of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western part of Ylinueses and its districts, have directed Don Jacobo Du Breuil and Don Josef López de la Peña, captains of the aforesaid regiment, to take, in the presence of assisting witnesses, the

<sup>19</sup> BL.

reports that follow with the object of verifying the origin of the news as well as the circumstances that surround it.

Since it is necessary to interrogate Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre and Don Francisco Vallé, the first two mentioned, who have no knowledge of the Spanish tongue, it is necessary to appoint an interpreter who is acquainted with the Spanish and French languages. I hereby name for the discharge of this duty Don Benito Basquez, lieutenant of the first company of militia of this town, a person who is familiar with both the languages referred to. After notification, he promised under his word of honor to be faithful and loyal in this charge which he accepted; and he signed with the witnesses mentioned and with me, the said lieutenant governor.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

BENITO BAZQUEZ (Rubric)

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

#### DECLARATION OF DON PEDRO PICOTÉ DE BELESTRE

I immediately caused to appear before me in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, retired officer in the service of His Most Christian Majesty, and resident of this town of St. Louis. After making him place his right hand on the hilt of his sword, I asked him (through the interpreter) if he swore before God and promised the King upon his word of honor to speak the truth in everything I might ask him.

##### *Reply.*

He does so swear and promise.

##### *Question.*

What is his name, what is his country, what religion does he profess, and where does he have his permanent residence?

##### *Reply.*

His name is Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, he is a native of the city of Montreal, one of the cities of Canada, his religion is Apostolic Roman Catholic, and his residence is in this town of St. Louis.

##### *Question.*

Does he know the man named Willing? Since when, and in what locality?

##### *Reply.*

He knows him, on account of having seen him lately in the fort of Arkansas, where he arrived from the Falls of the Ohio River on the 30th of last May. He brought the news that the French and Americans were accomplishing great marvels; that General Washington was gathering his army in the north of the American continent, and that it was believed that it was for the purpose of going from there to Canada, according to public rumor, although no one

could ever penetrate the intentions of that general. To these reports Willing added that the English, commanded by the former governor of Detroit, named Monsieur Hamilton, who was taken prisoner at the post of Vincennes by General Clark, were to come down by the Ohio River and take possession of the posts of Ylinueses.

*Question.*

Did the aforesaid Willing say at what time the said enemies were to come, and with how many men? Did he say whether it would be with regular troops, Indians, or militia, or with cannon, and whether by land or water? In short, let him tell everything that he knows or that may give exact knowledge of anything that may be of consequence to know in this very important matter.

*Reply.*

He says that he heard nothing more than he has already told, but that perhaps Don Francisco Vallé and Don Silbestre Labadia may know other facts relative to this matter, for the reason that the witness was ill at the time and therefore could not hold long conversations with the aforesaid Willing.

*Question.*

Has he anything more to say or to add or take away from his preceding declaration, is it the same as he has given, and what is his age.

*Reply.*

The preceding declaration is the same as he gave, and he has nothing to add or withdraw from the said statement, which he signs and ratifies under his word of honor which he has given. He is forty-two years of age. He signed it with the assisting witnesses above-mentioned and with me, the said lieutenant governor, on the same day, month, and year as above.

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

PICOTÉ DE BELESTRE (Rubric)

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

BENITO BAZQUEZ (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

#### DECLARATION OF DON FRANCISCO VALLÉ.

Immediately afterwards I, the said lieutenant governor, caused to appear before me in the presence of the assisting witnesses, Francisco Vallé, sub-lieutenant of militia of the town of St. Geneviève. After making him put his right hand on the hilt of his sword, I asked him if he swore before God and promised the King on his word of honor to speak the truth in whatever he might be asked by me through the interpreter.

*Reply.*

He so swears and promises.



*Question.*

What is his name, his native country, his religion, and where is his permanent residence?

*Reply.*

His name is Don Francisco Vallé, he is a native of the town of Ste. Geneviève, district of Ylinueses, his religion Apostolic Roman Catholic, and his present residence is in the said town of Ste. Geneviève.

*Question.*

Does he know the abovementioned Willing and, if so, for how long and where did he know him?

*Reply.*

He has heard it said that the aforesaid Willing came down some years ago by the Ohio River to the city of New Orleans, destroying on his voyage the possessions which the English had on the east side of this river; but the first time that he saw him was recently at the post of Arkansas. Just as the witness was about to return to these settlements, the aforesaid Willing arrived on the 30th of last May, coming from the Falls of the Ohio River. He brought news that he had been personally exchanged for Governor Hamilton, and that the latter was to come down, presumably, to capture the Ylinueses.

*Question.*

Did he hear the said Willing give the number of the enemy that was to come, or state whether they would bring regular troops, savages, or militia?

*Reply.*

He did not hear Willing say anything about that matter.

*Question.*

Has he anything to add to or take from the declaration that he has given, does he sign and ratify it under the oath that he has taken, and what is his age?

*Reply.*

He has nothing to add to nor withdraw from his preceding declaration, which is the same that he gave, and he affirms and ratifies it under the oath that he has taken. He is twenty-four years of age. He signed it with the aforesaid witnesses, interpreter and me, lieutenant governor.

VALLÉ *fls* (Rubric)

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric),

BENITO BAZQUEZ (Rubric)

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

## DECLARATION OF DON SILBESTRE LABADIA

On the same day, month, and year, I, the aforesaid lieutenant governor, caused Don Silbestre Labadia to appear before me in the presence of the assisting witnesses. After causing him to lift his right hand and make with it the sign of the cross, I asked him if he swore before God and promised the King to speak the truth in regard to the matter about which I was going to interrogate him.

*Reply.*

He so swears and promises.

*Question.*

What is his name, his native country, his religion, his present residence, and business?

*Reply.*

His name is Don Silbestre Labadia, he is a native of Tarbe, a province of Bigore in France; his religion Apostolic Roman Catholic, his actual residence has been in this post of St. Louis of Ylinueses for the last eighteen years; and his business is that of merchant.

*Question.*

From what place did he last come when he arrived at this town?

*Reply.*

He came from the post of Arkansas, where he was for six days.

*Question.*

During the six days that he was at the post of Arkansas did any American arrive with news?

*Reply.*

On the 30th day of May there arrived at that post the aforesaid Willing, who called himself American. The witness never knew him until that time, except by the general report current some four years ago when he had come down the Mississippi attacking and destroying all the settlements of the English on the east side of that river.

*Question.*

What information did the said Willing give the witness concerning these settlements or any other place? In short, let him give a detailed narration of everything that he heard said in the time that he remained at the post of Arkansas.

*Reply.*

The aforesaid Willing told the witness that these settlements of Ylinueses were menaced by Governor Hamilton, who had been exchanged for the said Willing. He stated that the said Hamilton was to come down and attack them with regular troops, savages, and in fact with all the people that he can collect. The witness is ignorant as to whether he is likely to be supported by artillery. The said Willing charged him very particularly to come and give information

of this plan of Hamilton to Señor Don Francisco Cruzat so that this commandant may take all the measures for his defence that may appear feasible to him in the present situation and in respect to the future menace to the country under his command.

*Question.*

Has he anything else to say, add to, or take from his preceding declaration? Is it the same that he has given, and what is his age?

*Reply.*

He has nothing else to say, add to, or withdraw from the preceding declaration, which is the same that he gave. His age is forty years. He signed it with the aforesaid witnesses and with me, the said lieutenant governor, on the same day, month, and year as stated above.

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric),	S <sup>TR</sup> E. LABBAD (Rubric),
FRAN <sup>CO</sup> . CRUZAT (Rubric),	JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric).

COUNCIL OF WAR HELD AT ST. LOUIS

*July 9, 1782*<sup>20</sup>

Observations made by Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry, captain of grenadiers of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western part of Ylinueses and its districts, to the council of officers of the garrison of this town of St. Louis, held in the government hall today, July 9, 1782.

*First.*

Of all the settlements of Ylinueses the only one which is now in a state of defense is this abovementioned town of St. Louis. That of Ste. Geneviève is open on all sides, and without any defense. The houses are too far apart from each other to give reciprocal aid quickly. And even though one wished to fortify it, it would be very difficult, and would cost the royal treasury a great deal. It would also require two or three years to surround with a fortification the large circuit formed by the extent of the said town; and, moreover, there would never be enough people there to defend it if it were built. On account of its local situation it is placed to receive the first shock if any attack were to be made by enemies coming from below.

*Second.*

All the American settlements of Illinois are probably in a defenseless state, without any garrison or store of munitions of war or provisions sufficient to maintain themselves on the defensive and resist for any time those who may attack them. There are no indications that the Americans will give them more help than they have given up to now, which has been none at all. It is known that in these establish-

<sup>20</sup> BL.

ments referred to there are no military commanders nor persons instructed in the art of war who can prepare a methodical plan of defense which would render them safe for any length of time in case of invasion or preserve them while waiting for me. In the meantime it would be doubtful as to whether they would conquer or be conquered.

*Third.*

By the declaration presented to the council by Don Silbestre Labadia, master of the boat which was captured at Los Ecores à Margo on the second of last May, it appears that the merchandise which was going up in it belonging to the King and destined as presents this year to the Indian nations of this district, as well as the munitions which were being sent from the capital for the defense of these posts, were all seized by a party of rebels and pirates on the said spot. The latter assured the said Don Silbestre Labadia that they were awaiting Colonel Haricson, who had gone to Georgia to look for two regiments to unite with the aforesaid rebels who number three hundred white men of various nations. This autumn they will all attack, together with the Chickasaws and some Choctaws, the settlements of Ylinueses and entirely destroy them. This seemed to them all the easier because they are minutely acquainted with our present situation.

*Fourth.*

It is well-known that I am without any goods with which to make presents to the numerous parties of Indians who constantly gather at this town. They come from all parts, many of them belonging to the nations who are neighbors to our enemies and only a short time ago were devoted to them. In time of peace they were never in the habit of coming to this town. Even though the merchants here have in their possession some goods which may be bought and presented to the Indians, they cost the King dearly. Even brandy is hardly to be found in this town, although it is one of the articles most essential to satisfy the aforesaid Indians, and I do not know what may result from this lack of drink and the limited presents that I am now compelled to give them, at a time when our enemies are making the greatest efforts to strengthen themselves by giving them the most splendid presents.

*Fifth.*

I am ignorant of whether the English of Detroit or of Michillimackinac being informed, as they are without doubt by the Indians who come and go, of the critical situation of these settlements, will or will not arouse by dint of presents some of the Indian nations. They may come with these to attack, if not those of my command, perhaps those of the American district, knowing that once they are masters of that region it will be easy for them to blockade the towns of this western

side and overrun the fields, destroy our new habitations, establishments, and cattle. In that case I shall be compelled to reduce all my operations solely to defense. On account of the distance between the capital and those posts mentioned, even though I fulfill my duty in this part in every possible way, the defense will naturally not be very prolonged. For once the town of Ste. Geneviève is in the power of the enemy this of St. Louis will be left without any recourse as to provisions since the latter obtains all its supplies from the former.

*Sixth.*

I do not know whether the rebels, who have spies and secret communications, as has been proved, in all the posts of the colony are today acting in accord with the English of the Strait, and the latter with those of Michillimackinac, to make at the same time (some coming from above and others from below) an invasion into these countries and bring general destruction to all their populations. It is certain that the English this last spring invited all the nations of this immense continent to go and see them in the different places where they are. We know that the concourse at those places was very great, but we are ignorant as to what will result from it. But we are not ignorant of the fact that the rebels are threatening us; for it appears from the declarations presented in the council, taken from Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, Don Francisco Vallé, and Don Silbestre Labadia, that the American called Willing told them at the post of Arkansas that within a short time Governor Hamilton was to come with sufficient forces to make the conquest of Ylinueses, and he could assure them that both would co-operate and this would urge on a project ruinous to the aforesaid establishments.

*Seventh.*

In the statement which I present you will see what a small number of troops I have for the defense of the towns under my command, and whether they are sufficient to guard it.

*Eighth.*

By the three official letters which I present from Señor Don Esteban Miró, governor *ad interim* of this province, you will also note the instructions given me as to the measures I must adopt in this town immediately on receiving them.

*Ninth.*

Finally, in view of everything that I have said, and the general inconstancy of the Indians, I ask the opinion of each one of you whether it is possible, in the present critical situation in which we are, to remove from the royal service, as I am directed to do in one of the official letters referred to dated the 16th of March of this current year, the militia now employed for the defense and daily service of this town. I ask you whether it is better to leave the same

number as is now employed or whether it ought to be increased, in view of the evident changes in the circumstances of which you are not ignorant. In the latter case up to what number of men should it be increased? I also ask whether it is indispensable to maintain the detachments of the Señores Mayet and Buché de Monbrum in the places where they now are; and also if you will tell me whether it is best for the royal service to put on the pay of the King a number of militiamen of the town of Ste. Geneviève, with the corresponding officers of that company for the defense and custody of that town, and designate the number that you may consider sufficient. Finally, I desire that you will give me secretly and in writing the opinion most in conformity with the knowledge that you have of this country, least prejudicial to the royal treasury and most worthy of the intelligence, spirit, and honor with which you are all endowed.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *July 9, 1782.*

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

#### COUNCIL OF WAR AT ST. LOUIS

*July 9, 1782*<sup>21</sup>

In the town of St. Louis of Ylinueses on the 9th day of the month of July of the year 1782, I, Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry, captain of the guards of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, commandant-in-chief, and lieutenant governor of the western part of Ylinueses and its districts, have this day given orders to the captains of the aforementioned regiment, Don Jacobo Du Breuil and Don Josef López de la Peña, the sub-lieutenant of grenadiers of the same place, Don Pedro Olivier, the aide-de-camp of this government, Don Pedro Francisco de Bolsey, and the retired sub-lieutenant of the aforementioned body, Don Josef Piernas, to assemble in the office of this government. After they considered and examined all the documents presented to the council, each one has given me personally and secretly his opinion in writing, relative to the defense required for the preservation of the dominions of his Majesty in this district of Ylinueses, bearing in mind the present critical situation of the said dominions. Their opinions are as follows:

#### *Opinion of Captain Don Jacobo Du Breuil.*

The disclosures made by Señor Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant colonel of the army, and commandant-in-chief of the western district of the Ylinueses, president of the council which is today taking place, have been considered. He has laid before us the orders of

<sup>21</sup> BL.

the general government of this province wherein he is directed to demobilize the militia which is actually in service. In view of this fact and the reports which we have, the intention of the rebel refugees of the Chickasaw nation should be taken into consideration. They are planning raids upon these settlements, for the daring of these pirates is well known through the ill treatment given to our prisoners, as is deduced by the declaration of Don Silbestre Labadia.

Don Pedro de Belestre and Don Francisco Vallé report that the American Willing requested them to advise the said commandant to take precautions in order to guard against the intentions of Governor Hamilton (royalist), who will, in all probability, come by the Ohio River (as is understood) in order to take possession of the country. As to the place through which it is said he must pass, one must presume that it is Hamilton's method to give out this information, in order to divert any opposition to his descent, which he would be able to execute with far greater ease by the Mississippi River. It seems to me, therefore, that it is advisable for the preservation of the country that the same number of militia shall do duty in this section, which is very vast and in which there are many places that must be protected. These cannot be defended with the small troop we have. For the safety of the town of Ste. Geneviève it is also advisable to enlist fifty militiamen with two subalterns and the corresponding sergeants and corporals, in order to send out scouting parties as far as Ohio River.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

*Opinion of Captain Josef López de la Peña.*

The disclosures made by Señor Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel and commander-in-chief of these settlements, have been considered in a council held today, the 9th of July. The information which I have concerning the post of St. Louis makes it the main consideration of this colony because it borders on the enemy's line and is larger than all the other posts of this and the other district. The length of the aforementioned post, its narrow width, and its greater circumference, may be seen. There are three batteries, one tower with five cannon, and four principal gates in this post. The aforesaid post is completely exposed on the river side. Considering the very unfavorable consequences which might occur, if the enemy were instructed as to the number of men who are in service at the post, it is my opinion that there should be maintained in the royal service, the militia which exists there today, irrespective of the limited number of troops there stationed, with the understanding that the regular soldiers are to be employed only for the

interior service of the aforesaid post. These detachments should remain permanent and separate from that of the militia.

As to the town of Ste. Geneviève, it will be not less desirable (according to the information which the aforementioned commander-in-chief gave to the council) to place in actual service forty men with one subaltern, and the corresponding number of sergeants and corporals for its protection and defense, so that in any contingency (these being stationed at the aforesaid post) they will be in a position to resist any sudden invasion while the other inhabitants could band together for its defense. Finally, all means should be taken, considering the present circumstances, to save (if possible) these posts for the King in order that they shall safeguard the colony on this side.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES. *July 9, 1782.*

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

*Opinion of Pedro Olivier, sub-lieutenant of grenadiers.*

Don Francisco de Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the settlements in the western section of Ylinueses, in the council which was celebrated today, ninth of July 1782, at his house presented several orders from the general government which demanded the demobilization of the militia service employed in the preservation of the aforesaid settlements. He makes the observation that the number of troops which we have for its defense is limited, and the condition in which we find ourselves is critical, because of what happened to the boats which were coming up from the capital to this point, and also because of the suspicion of an invasion into our settlements on the part of the same English who took possession of our vessels, a belief which is substantiated by the declaration of Labadia, Belestre, and Vallé.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that the same number of troops of militia which up to the present day is employed in this post of St. Louis, should be maintained in its defense. Considering the state of indefense in which the town of Ste. Geneviève finds itself, I am also of the opinion that there should be appointed forty men, and a subaltern officer of the militia for that town, who shall be utilized in reconnoitering in order to prevent any surprise attack.

PEDRO OLIVIER (Rubric)

*Opinion of Don Pedro Bolsey, aide-de-camp of this government.*

In view of the orders which Señor Don Francisco Cruzat brevet lieutenant colonel and commandant of these settlements of Ylinueses, has shown to us in the council which was held today, July 9th, in the office of the government, and in consonance with the declara-



tions given by Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, Don Francisco Vallé, and Don Silbestre Labadia, it appears to me that in order to be able to protect the aforesaid post and preserve it from the attacks which threaten from the rebels, it is necessary to retain the militia which exists at present in the service of this town. Likewise, in order to protect the inhabitants of the town of Ste. Geneviève from the same hostilities, I am of the opinion that there should be placed on active duty fifty men of the company of militia of that post, including sergeants and corporals. Because of the limited number of regular troops which are available in that place, these should do the required outpost duty to prevent any surprise attack which the aforementioned rebels might attempt to make. This is what my knowledge dictates to me according to the information which I have of the country.

DE BOLSEY

*Opinion of the sub-lieutenant, Don Josef Piernas.*

As a result of the authentic and trustworthy documents which were presented in the council held today by its president, Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant colonel of infantry, captain of the grenadiers of the regular regiment of Louisiana, commandant-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western section of Ylinueses and its district, it seems that the settlements His Majesty has in this district find themselves threatened with a terrible invasion by the English, as well as by the rebels and pirates who have found refuge in the Chickasaw nation. It is necessary to comply with the pious intentions of our august sovereign in the protection of his dominions and in affording full protection to his loyal subjects. In order to accomplish the preservation of those vassals whom the King has in these towns from a catastrophe as unfortunate for them and for the colony as that so grievously experienced at St. Louis in the year 1780, the tragic impression of which many of these inhabitants will be unable to obliterate the rest of their lives, I am of the opinion, considering the physical risk, which is obvious, and the insufficient number of veteran troops which today exists in this aforesaid town, that there should be retained for its defense and daily service the number of militiamen already in service, in exactly the same position in which they are today.

Considering the disadvantageous local situation in which the town of Ste. Geneviève finds itself and the small detachment which garrisons it, there should be placed there in the pay of the King fifty men from that company of militia with their two respective subaltern officers. These should daily serve in scouting by land or by water, as may be deemed advisable, or in nightly watches, outside of the area of the aforesaid town, or in any other capacity that future events may

demand. This is my opinion, and I consider this plan the least burdensome to the royal treasury, and the one most adapted to the present critical circumstances. Although the safety of these settlements can not be assured, they will at least be saved by this means from a surprise attack, and from the general desolation produced by the horrors of an assault, especially when administered by such barbarous and ferocious people as are those with whom we war on this continent, which a terrible and not far distant experience has taught us to know.

JOSEPH PIERNAS (Rubric)

In consideration of the preceding opinions by the officers called together by me in this council, I have resolved, notwithstanding the orders which I have received by this last mail, that there shall remain in actual service the militia which is today employed in the defense of this town of St. Louis. I have also decided that, in the town of Ste. Geneviève, fifty men shall be placed in the pay of the King, including sergeants and corporals of that company with their two subaltern officers. With this arrangement the orders of the general government shall be awaited.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*July [9], 1782*<sup>22</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter containing an order from Your Lordship, dated March 16th of the present year, in which I am notified that upon its receipt I shall immediately suspend the service of the militia in this town of St. Louis, unless powerful reasons shall oblige me to the contrary. I beg to advise Your Lordship that by reason of the verbal declarations received from Don Silbestre Labadia, Don Pedro Picoté de Belestre, and Don Francisco Vallé, on the 29th of last May, when they arrived from the fort of Arkansas, to the effect that these settlements were threatened by an invasion, I resolved to consider the matter with the aforementioned gentlemen seriously and take their declarations in writing. I decided to call a council of the officers who guard this town so that the aforesaid declarations might be taken, and so that the order of Your Lordship and the observations which the critical situation of these posts have moved me to make might be considered. I desired that each person should decide according to his best judgment and his knowledge of this country that which would be of greater adaptability to its defense and preservation, less expensive to the royal treasury, and more in

<sup>22</sup> BL.

conformity to the protection which our august sovereign so benignly confers on his loyal subjects.

In accordance with all the documents relative to the aforementioned council called, which I herewith remit, Your Lordship may see the opinion of each individual who assisted, and the powerful reasons which I have had to retain in actual service in the referred-to town the same number of militiamen that were there prior to the receipt of the aforementioned order of Your Lordship. You may also see the indispensable necessity in which I find myself of placing in the pay of the King at the town of Ste. Geneviève fifty men of that company of militia, including sergeants and corporals with their two respective subaltern officers, so that with this number of employees and the meager detachment of veteran troops which are in that town, its defense and preservation may be aided. Thereby the place will escape a surprise attack which is today the thing most to be feared by the towns of this region. I am persuaded that when Your Lordship has examined all the documents which I include herewith, you will not disapprove of my resolution. Only the service of the King, the honor of the country, the preservation of these settlements under my command in which all this province is interested because it is one of the most important keys, and the compliance with my obligation, have been and will always be the guiding power of my actions, as is well-known. I make all this known to Your Lordship for your information.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *July, 1782*.

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup> CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

GIBAULT TO MIRÓ

*July 29, 1782*<sup>23</sup>

SIR: With the deepest respect and the sincerest wishes possible towards Your Lordship, I beg you to spare a moment of your precious time to listen to my petition.

In the last fourteen years since I have been a missionary to the Illinois, I have tried hard to serve both St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève as well as the parish of my district, especially Ste. Geneviève. Mr. Piernas will be able to testify to this quite faithfully. I have never received any other sums than a modest contingent fee. I have already received from your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Don Bernardo Gálvez, refuge in the Spanish district in the name of the King, to avoid the

<sup>23</sup> BL, (French).

barbaric fury of our enemies; at present everything is worse than ever.

Without commander, soldiers or laws, without any discipline whatsoever, everything there, on the contrary, going on in the greatest spiritual and temporal disorder, I request humbly your permission to place myself and my belongings under the protection of His Catholic Majesty at Ste. Geneviève, and I shall do everything possible to fulfill the duties of a good citizen and a zealous priest. I hope that Messrs. Cruzat and Piernas will put in a good word for me, as I have the honor of being known to them. Mr. de Rocheblave, escaped from Virginia although he was free there, and is now at Michillimakinac. His anger with the Illinois is more to be feared than that of any other enemy if he can find enough forces or tricks to surprise them, especially our part where everything is open. This is the main reason for your Lordship to grant my request. I shall not cease praying for the preservation of a health which is so necessary to the colony, and am with deepest respect,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

P. GIBAULT (Rubric), Priest-Missionary

At STE. GENEVIÈVE, *July 29, 1782.*

#### CRUZAT TO OFFICIALS OF KASKASKIA AND CAHOKIA

*August 4, 1782*<sup>24</sup>

*Copy of a Letter Written to the Courts of Kaskaskia and Cahokia of the American District of the Illinois.*

GENTLEMEN: Troubles were caused recently on the Mississippi by a number of rebels and bandits who are committing the most atrocious hostilities against the subjects of His Catholic Majesty in this colony. Some people under the name of Americans come to seek refuge in our posts in order thereafter to inform these same malefactors of our movements so that, thus informed, they might with certainty do us harm, and they often themselves mingle with these bandits. Thus the general government of this province is obliged to take the wisest measures to put a stop to these acts of piracy. Specific orders have been given to the commanders of the small posts to arrest all persons who shall pass through these posts without a passport signed by the Spanish commander.

Therefore, I warn you, gentlemen, that all those who will come down from the eastern part of the Illinois to New Orleans or other places of this said province without my passport will be arrested by the commanders of the forts on both sides of the Mississippi. This

<sup>24</sup> BL, (French).

might be very harmful to your commerce, notwithstanding the fact that there may be no other alternative. I shall send you at your discretion the passports which you shall request of me for the lower parts of the province.

I have the honor of being with consideration, Gentlemen, your most humble and obedient servant.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

ST. LOUIS OF THE ILLINOIS, *August 4, 1782.*

CRUZAT TO [MIRÓ]

*August 5, 1782*<sup>25</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: The absolute lack of any regulation in the American district permits a great number of persons to come down the Mississippi River without any passports. This allows the entrance into our posts of the bandits who infest the banks of Mississippi River. They introduce themselves in the guise of Americans and ascertain what happens therein. This enables them effectively to accomplish all their perverse intentions against the subjects of his Majesty, of which I have ample evidence. With the rebels come various persons from Illinois, who under this pretext have become deserters and have passed through our aforementioned posts as Americans. I have, therefore, written to the tribunals or courts of justice of the American towns Kaskaskia, and Cahokia a letter in French. I herewith remit to you a copy and I trust that this provision will not meet with the displeasure of Your Lordship.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 5, 1782.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*August 8, 1782*<sup>26</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Josef Hortiz, resident of this town of St. Louis, reached here by land the 29th of May of the present year, bringing the news that the boat of Don Silbestre Labadia was coming up from that capital laden with goods of the King to be used as presents to the Indians of this region and also containing money for the payment of the troops. He also learned passing by the fort of Arkansas, that, on the Mississippi River further north from this aforementioned site, there was a party of Natchez rebels, with some Indians who

<sup>25</sup> BL.

<sup>26</sup> BL.

awaited the boats that were going up from that city. As a result of this, I immediately resolved to send the Sub-lieutenant Don Diego Blanco, with twenty-five men, on one of the King's boats in order to render aid, if it were possible, to the boat of the aforesaid Labadia. This officer started on the 2nd of June of this year.

On the 5th of this same month, I received the news that on the 4th, a party of the Loup nation, who were coming from that of the Chickasaws, had arrived at Ste. Geneviève and reported that at Ecores à Prudhomme [torn] had been taken prisoner, and that the aforementioned boat of Labadia had been destroyed by a party of these same rebels. They reported that these had also taken the boat of Monsieur Lafon coming down from Ste. Geneviève to that city, and that they had sent to the Chickasaw nation in search of horses in order to transport the aforesaid merchandise. I have considered that this news merited the greatest attention, and was moved to send Captain Jacobo Du Breuil to the town of Ste. Geneviève on the same day so that, informed by the same Indians of the circumstances of this event, he might take, subject to the verbal instructions which I gave to him, any measures on his own initiative that appeared suitable to such a critical situation and relative to the unfortunate happening.

As a consequence, the aforementioned officer went down to the town of Ste. Geneviève where he had a conference with the aforementioned Indians. Having informed himself of everything, and of the fact that the Chickasaw nation had had absolutely nothing to do with the affair and found itself undecided and not knowing what course to take, he determined to send immediately the aforesaid Loup Indians and some of the Peoria and Kaskaskia nations to the Chickasaws, with the purpose of inducing the last not to protect the rebels and bandits who are refugees in their territory, endeavoring to bring back our people who are prisoners, and doing everything possible so that the river might be navigated without danger or difficulty. In order to conduct this party of Indians which Captain Du Breuil formed, he bought a boat at Ste. Geneviève on the account of the King. He sent Don Carlos Vallé, lieutenant of the company of militia of this town, out in it with eight militiamen of the same place and an interpreter, so that our Indians might be landed in the neighborhood of the place where the enemy was. Lieutenant Vallé, by waiting on the western side for their return from the Chickasaw nation, would then be enabled to bring up the prisoners which the said Indians might gather.

This officer accordingly set out from Ste. Geneviève on the 12th of the same month with the people mentioned, and supplied with all the necessities incident to an expedition of this kind. Twelve leagues below Ste. Geneviève, he found the King's boat, which was return-

ing without having been able to find Labadia's boat, nor having obtained any news of it. Sub-lieutenant Don Diego Blanco was informed by Lieutenant Don Carlos Vallé of what had occurred to the said boat, and moved by the zeal for the service of the King which always is his aim, he determined to join this officer and go down with him up to [torn] which was done [torn]. According to their instructions, they landed the Indians, and these with some of our men reconnoitered the territory and found that the enemies had retired from their camp, which was five leagues up the river Amargo, in front of which the boat of Labadia had been taken, and not at Ecores à Prudhomme as had first been said. As a result, they set fire to the jail which they found, where our prisoners had been locked, and they returned to the King's boat.

The Indians then told Sub-lieutenant Don Diego Blanco and Lieutenant Don Carlos Vallé to return with their men and boats and await them at the Isla del Buey near the mouth of the Ohio River, for they were in evident danger in the place where they were. They estimated it would take twenty-two days to go to and return from the Chickasaw nation, and that at the expiration of that time they would return to the town of Ste. Geneviève, because they might find themselves obliged to take another road in their departure. This turned out to be the case. The aforementioned officers went up the aforesaid Isla del Buey and remained there longer than the pre-arranged time, but, not having received any news from our aforementioned Indians, found themselves compelled to return to Ste. Geneviève where they arrived on the 18th of last month. Immediately Lieutenant Don Carlos Vallé came by land to notify me of what he and Don Diego Blanco had accomplished. Realizing that the return of our party of Indians to Ste. Genevieve could not be long delayed, I went down to that town to receive them.

On the 25th the Indians arrived with three soldiers from the fort of Carlos III in Arkansas who had been taken prisoners on the St. Francis River on the 11th of January of this current year. Two of them were our countrymen. One was from the boat of Monsieur Lafon. The other had been taken with the three soldiers. They also delivered to me another soldier by the name of Fernando Vivero, belonging to the second company of the first battalion of the Regiment of the Prince, who had been taken by Colbert and three of his Indian sons at Mobile on the 5th of June 1780, together with the second sergeant, Juan del Castillo, and corporal of the first class, Josef Yndigo. The two belong to the same regiment. The sergeant, after being kept for two months in the Chickasaw nation, was sent to Pensacola, which still belonged to the English. The corporal was always in the possession of Colbert. The aforementioned soldier,

after being for two years in captivity, was restored by the Chickasaws with whom he was found by our Indians.

I also wish to advise Your Lordship that [certain Chickasaws] have come to reiterate their desire for peace. They wish to become our allies [torn] and again request peace from our august sovereign. Six chiefs [torn] and five Chickasaw Indians, in the name of their [torn] chief Panimataja (who is complete master among them) and all the nation, have assured me that, in accordance with my expressed desire, they would render no aid whatever to the rebels and pirates who have found refuge in their territories. They also gave assurance that they would do everything within their power to expel the bandits from their nation and that they would make efforts to clear the banks of this river of all the evil doers who infest it. They stated that in everything which they did they would endeavor to show their sincere affection for the Spaniards, thus demonstrating definitely how far the English were from possessing their friendship which they had before. Finally they asserted that their good conduct would be in conformity with all they promised.

With the assurance of good conduct given to me by the Chickasaw nation and in view of the great evidence of sincerity, I responded by assuring those of the party who were speaking to me, that if they carried into effect what they proposed, they would find that our friendship would be reciprocal and generous. I made them a gift suitable to what the present circumstances called for, and to the indispensable necessity which we have of retaining their good will by making them presents, for it is necessary to bring this nation to our alliance by all means possible. This will enable us thereby to reduce the rebels and pirates who live there. I have likewise recompensed the Loup, Peoria, and Kaskaskia Indians, who were employed in this expedition. They were so happy that publicly in the conference I had with them they repeatedly begged that opportunities be afforded so that they might make evident the desires they have of sacrificing themselves in the service of Spain, under whose sovereignty they considered themselves happy. Your Lordship may take into account that the Chickasaw nation was undecided whether to give its hand to the rebels or follow our party, and renew the alliance which had been previously made with me, as I have already made known to the general government. The experience acquired in these territories as to the character and temperament of the Indians has been of distinct value in that I am able to avail myself of all the strategies and subterfuges. I adopted one of the most efficacious means I have of dealing with all the Indians of this immense continent, in order to have the Chickasaw nation on my side. I knew that this nation has carried on war with all the others who live on the Mississippi



River, and on the bank of Illinois, particularly with the Kickapoos and Mascoutens who are those [torn] most feared by the Chickasaw nation [torn]. Consequently, as soon as I learned of the seizure of the boats of [torn] Labadia and of Lafon, secretly and in a cautious manner I ordered brought together a considerable party of Kickapoo and Mascouten Indians, and I urged them to make war upon the Chickasaws and the rebels. I told them that the latter [torn] who were in this nation had captured the boat on which there were presents for all the Indians of this district, and that it was necessary that they avenge a theft which was against themselves. A proposition of this kind, which aroused the enmity they bear the Chickasaw nation, and which was accompanied by a present adapted to the end I had in view, fired their spirits to such a degree that without the slightest delay they set out to attack the Chickasaws and the rebels, spurred on by the desire of revenge which always animates them.

This party has not yet returned, but I expect them from day to day. I feel assured that the minute the Chickasaws perceived that this party was in their land and making their incursions, they were filled with fear and did not dare to go out on the hunt in order to supply their families. Knowing full well that only I could put an end to a war which seemed directed anew against them, they resolved to deliver to our Indians, the Loups, Peorias, and Kaskaskias, the six aforementioned prisoners, who were the only ones in their power, for all others were held by the rebels. The great chief Panimataja also ordered that all our prisoners who escape, and flee from the habitations of the said rebels, and seek refuge in his nation, shall be taken in. They shall be received kindly and shall be protected until such time as they can be forwarded.

Immediately the party and the Chickasaw chief whom I have mentioned above came to see me and begged me publicly, in the name of all the nation, to offer forcible intervention and endeavor to pacify the nations of the Mississippi and the banks of the Illinois who seemed to desire the renewal of a war, from which they wished to free themselves, since their towns already were carrying on hostilities with difficulty. When I attained my objective, which was to intimidate the Chickasaws, I told them that the nations of the Mississippi and the Illinois, seeing that they had permitted a band of brigand rogues, in their presence and before their eyes, to take the boat in which the presents for them were being conveyed, had become angered both against these brigands and the Chickasaws. As a consequence, had I not held back various large parties, the thefts committed by those Indians in the Chickasaw villages, the destruction by fire, and the bloodshed, would have been enormous.

However, once they promised me to do everything I asked of them,

I also would actively endeavor to procure for them the peace that they desired. I expressed assurance that I would accomplish everything I wished, because all the nations whose valor they fear, obey my orders, and follow my will. In proof of this I promised to set free and send to their villages the Chickasaw prisoners who are still among the [torn] Kickapoo and Mascouten nations and wish to leave, provided that the Chickasaw nation acts as I desire.

I do not know how to express to Your Lordship the satisfaction that my reply caused them, the thanks that they rendered to me, and the happiness that the said Indians felt upon being restored to their homes.

With this cunning means and others which I have employed and which I use according to the occasion, accompanied always by some present (a thing always indispensable), I have succeeded up to the present time in bringing a number of nations to our alliance. There have been indeed so great a number that many of the nations more remote and friendly to the English (as is well known) who only knew the Spanish by name, now come to this town of St. Louis to solicit our friendship and protection and to offer to carry into effect everything that I suggest.

As many circumstances have occurred since the seizure of the boat of Labadia which have not been included herein, in order not to tire Your Lordship, I have ordered Captain Don Jacobo Du Breuil to communicate everything to you, for he has knowledge of everything that has happened since his arrival at these settlements. Many times I have employed him upon different commissions for the royal service. which he has always satisfactorily carried out with the zeal and activity his natural talent and military acumen have given to him. I place everything before Your Lordship for your information in order that I may receive the approbation which I desire.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 8, 1782.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

GRIMAREST TO CAGIGAL

*August 22, 1782*<sup>27</sup>

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have received the official letter of Your Excellency, dated the 27th of the past month, in which you kindly transmit to me the one which His Excellency Don Bernardo de Gálvez wrote

<sup>27</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1304.

to you under date of June 23. This pertains to the fact that it was reported in Jamaica that seven vessels had sailed for Pensacola. The rest of its contents has also been noted.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

MOBILE, *August 22, 1782.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses the hand of your Excellency.

HENRIQUE GRIMAREST (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JUAN MANUEL DE CAGIGAL.

CAGIGAL TO MIRÓ

*August 30, 1782*<sup>28</sup>

I am informed by the official letter of Your Lordship of June 15, last, that you had scheduled your march to the post of Natchez for the 17th of the same month and of the reasons for taking only 100 men to suppress and punish the malcontents in the locality.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, *August 30, 1782.*

JUAN MAN<sup>L</sup>. DE CAGIGAL (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*September 4, 1782*<sup>29</sup>

(Copy)

Philadelphia, *4<sup>th</sup> Sept 1782*

DEAR SIR

I have the happiness to acquaint you of my safe arrival here last Month, at which time I had the honour of delivering your Letters to His Excellency the President, and your Letter to Don Francisco Rendon, answer to the Letter you have now enclosed. And the former will answer you as soon as the Delegates for the State of Virginia, shall point out to him, in what way, when, & where, they intend discharging that Debt. This Business is now in contemplation, And I expect to inclose you his Excellencys answer upon this subject, by a good conveyance which will go direct from here for your Place next Month if the British Fleet leaves our Coast as expected, but in the mean time you may please assure the holders of the Bills upon France, that nothing in the compass of my Power shall be wanting in forwarding the Speedy Payment of those Bills, and that though the Finance of these States are just now low (from the superiority and success of the Enemy by Sea against our Com-

<sup>28</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 151-1.

<sup>29</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

mercial Navigation) I hope to succeed so that they will have Funds, or a Credit proposed here by the latter end of this Year to be forwarded to some part of Europe to pay them, as all other attempts to send Funds your way just now, would be very precarious & uncertain, and the Captures made upon our Vessells from this Continent is now so great, that no reasonable Insurance can be got, and therefore in all probability it would only be putting Money upon a very critical situation to attempt sending anything by Sea just now—

The Rumors of Peace one day, and of War the next, has been the topic of the news here since my arrival, but nothing yet certain, further than from appearances. The Enemy seems inclined to leave Charles Town & New York, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Rochambeau with the French Army passed here a few days ago, in good health & great spirits, to join Gen<sup>l</sup>. Washington & his Army (Near New York) which is now more powerful than at any Period since the War commenc'd, in short we fear nothing by Land—

Please do me the Honor to present my Respects to your good family, and believe me to be with my best wishes for your & their Health & Happiness

Sir

Your m<sup>o</sup> Devoted Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

OLR. POLLOCK

His Honor ESTEVAN DE MIRO

INHABITANTS OF TANCHIPIHO TO THE COMMANDANT OF NEW ORLEANS.

*September 8, 1782*<sup>30</sup>

WORTHY SIR: We make bold to informe your Excelence that we are under some Apprehensions of an Insult from the Indions: on account of one that was beat and afterward Died in Galviz Toun the Indions tels us that there is a great number of Indions Going to Galviz Toun for revenge and intends to call on us and to kill our cows cut our corn and take a scalp before they return We shall Dispatch a Indion to Galviz Toun to Acquaint M<sup>r</sup>. Maxunt of their unsivel Visit

TANCHIPIHO. *September* <sup>th</sup>8, 1782

These Sent by the Desier of the inhabitants of Tanchipiho  
[Addressed:]

To His Excellence the Commandant of New Orlands.

<sup>30</sup> BL, (English).

## REPORT ON THE MISSION OF PAULOUS TO THE CHICKASAWS

[September, 1782]<sup>31</sup>

Paulous, Spanish great medal chief of the Choctaw nation of the Small Part whom I sent with a letter, and the talk for Payemataha, great chief of the Chickasaw nation, reports the following as his reply:

He had been well-received by the Chickasaws and seven different nations, friends of the Spaniards who at that time were there to persuade them to take the side of the Spaniards, and at the same time make peace with them. The names of these nations were as follows: Abenauqui, Shawnee, Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, and Ouhiatanon. They had formerly attacked the Chickasaws.

Payemataha took the letter, but as there was no one who could explain to him its contents, they were stated to him in Spanish by the Choctaw chief who was in charge of it.

Payemataha will not go to Natchez immediately because he has been ill for some time. However, just as soon as his health improves, he will gather together the chiefs in order to go with them, and he will send his brother to me with some warriors, in the hope that I shall give them some munitions, in view of the fact that for some time past he has embraced friendship with the Spaniards. The English who were formerly among the Chickasaws are now established in the forests from whence they can not go out because the Americans would cut them off.

Payemataha is deeply moved by the occurrence on the Mississippi River, wherein Colbert intercepted the boats which were going up to Ylinueses. When this happened, his brother was making preparations to go to Mobile, but suspended the journey, being fearful that he might be accused of having had a hand in the deed. The Chickasaws are poor, and there are no other white people except the Spaniards who can supply their necessities.

The two prisoners taken two years before at Mobile had been sent toward the north by Colbert. Many English traders and refugees from Natchez at the time of the rebellion had gathered together on the Piedras River with Turnbull.

Colbert, with several Englishmen and some soldiers, was seventy-nine leagues from the Chickasaws toward the east. According to the statement, he is about at the *Petit Bea* on the upper Tombigbee River.

In the neighborhood of the place where the English took the boat of Madame Cruzat there are deposited a hundred barrels of brandy, much gun powder, blankets and other goods. They carry on com-

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<sup>31</sup> BL.

merce at that point with the Indian nations, but there was no ball nor cloth.

They did not wish to sell goods to the Chickasaws because they were keeping them for their own urgent requirements.

HENRIQUE GRIMAREST (Rubric)

O'NEILL TO CAGIGAL

*September 23, 1782*<sup>32</sup>

*Most Excellent Sir:*

MY DEAR SIR: I enclose to Your Excellency the copy of a letter from Don Juan Marten, who calls himself Governor of Savana. The said letter was delivered to me eight days ago by the chief of the great medal of the town of Talesi, belonging to the Indian tribe of the Creeks. By it Your Excellency will be informed as to the evacuation of the said capital by the British troops on the 12th of July. It is the only information brought by these Indians who daily appear in greater numbers asking for gifts.

I place myself at the orders of Your Excellency hoping that God may guard your life many years.

PENSACOLA, *September 23, 1782.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ARTURO O'NEILL (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JUAN MANUEL DE CAGIGAL.

PALAO TO MIRÓ

*September 23, 1782*<sup>33</sup>

MY DEAR SIR, MOST BELOVED AND RESPECTED CHIEF: Between ten and eleven yesterday I learned unofficially that the post of Galveston was to be attacked by the Choctaw Indians, and that the commandant of the post had caused all the women to be taken out and sent to the coast of Iberville. In confirmation of this news, at that very hour the civil commandant of the coast of Iberville, Don Nicolas de Berbuais, sent a Negro to seek the sergeant of militia belonging to this fort. With the same Negro he sent word to me that Galveston was to be attacked by the Indians.

In order to assure myself of the truth and details of the matter, I immediately despatched a soldier to that garrison, and wrote to that commandant. I am now awaiting the result. In the meantime I

<sup>32</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1304.

<sup>33</sup> BL.

have ordered that four of the militiamen quite near to the fort should come armed at nightfall so as to have two sentinels, and not suffer any surprise attack. I have ordered the civil commandant to go to the coast of Iberville and have the militia in readiness so as to be able to go with them wherever necessity may demand. I have likewise informed Don Francisco Bouligny who is for the present acting military commandant of the city of New Orleans.

That is all that has occurred which I am able to communicate to Your Lordship. This is the first opportunity that has presented itself where anyone is going past Las Arcas.

May God preserve Your Lordship the many and happy years that I desire and of which I have need.

*September 23, 1782.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of your Lordship.

MARTÍN PALAO (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MAXENT TO BOULIGNY

*September 24, 1782*<sup>34</sup>

MY DEAR MAJOR: By this letter I inform you that yesterday at ten in the morning three Indians of the Choctaw nation came to this post. They said they were going to the Mississippi, but after their departure they went to the house of a German inhabitant, whom they forced to give them food. Not satisfied with this, when they were leaving, they stole some of his chickens after having done the same to another inhabitant. A Negro who serves as interpreter told me that these same Indians said we are trembling with fear, and that Spain was not good, because it killed them with hunger and did not give them anything to eat thus making it necessary for them to steal in order to live.

I assure you, Major, that although there are many things lacking for defense of this post, I do not wish to bother you on this occasion for I believe that our colonel will pass by this way, and then I shall learn what I am to do. I had it in mind to send to the town all the Indians of this nation who came here, but I do not wish to do anything without the opinion of my superiors. For this reason I have begged my colonel to come down to this post, and I also desire that he may see in what a good state I have the fort.

May our Lord keep you many years.

GALVESTOWN, *September 24, 1782.*

I kiss your hand. Your most attentive servant,

ANTONIO MAXENT (Rubric)

Señor DON FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

<sup>34</sup> BL.

COLBURT TO MIRO

*October 6, 1782*<sup>35</sup>CHICKESAW NATION 6<sup>th</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup>. 1782

SIR: I Receivd yours of the 29<sup>th</sup> July this day Wherein you mention as follows Concerning the late Inhabitants of the Notches which you term as Reb[els] & Signifys in your [letter] As I harboured them Rebles. Now Sir you ought to be the last Person that Should Ever mention Anything of that Nature to me when you Upheld M<sup>r</sup>. Willing in Robing & plundering the Inhabitants on the Missisippy, before war was Ever declared between the Crown of great Brittain & his Catholick majesty notwithstanding I never mein to Uphold Or harbour Rebles of any kind. for those People that left the notches I do not Look Upon them as Rebles Neither do I emagine they were Ever your Subjects therefore I can but look on them as Other English Subjects. you Signify in your Letter As though I had no right to go to war without an Authaurity. I would have you to know that I have As much Authority to destress my kings Enmys as you have to mantain Notches Or Any Other place in behalf of your King therefore The Prisoners I now have & any others I may take you may depend I shall look on as prisoners of war & keep Them as Such till proper Exchanges are made for them. I am well Satisfyed with your Humanity in Regard of not Setting the Indians on white People. I have prevaild with my Indians to make Peace both with you & the Americans & with all The world as it is proper that no Indians ought to interfere with what Concerns None but white [people]. As for the white People that left Notches I much blame them for not Remaining in Peace till war was desided between great Brittain & Spain. Do not think that Cap<sup>n</sup> Blommart had no Authority for what he did for he as well as many others had from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Campbell— Therefore I desire you will Return the Prisoners I wrote for, & at the same time I shall Return those I have here. If not I shall detain them As Such further orders—I shall Send Mons<sup>r</sup>. Laffunt to his Parents as he is a youth I wish well & having No Opportunity of Education here I would not wish to keep him. I hope you will make Some Retalliation to the Indian that takes him in— If you should have Any Occation to write Any More to me Please to write in English or send an Interpreter with it having none here.

I am Sir Yours & C<sup>a</sup>

JAMES COLBURT

Capt<sup>n</sup>. in his Majestys Sev.

[Addressed:]

Mons<sup>r</sup>. ANTIE<sup>n</sup> MIRO att Natches.<sup>35</sup> BL, (English).



RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS RELATIVE  
TO POLLOCK'S ACCOUNTS <sup>36</sup>

By

THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

*October 22, 1782*

The Committee to whom was referred a Letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of September from Oliver Pollock—Report—

"That having examined sundry Letters and Papers which they Submit to the consideration of Congress, they are of opinion that M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock's accounts with the United States and those with the State of Virginia, are in some cases complicated in such manner, that the settlement of the former must necessarily be deferred till that of the latter is perfected; wherefore as well from the want of some necessary information from Governor Galvez, M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock's accounts with the United States must for the present be left open: that M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock appears to have exerted himself with much zeal and industry as Commercial Agent of the United States at New Orleans: that he also appears to have advanced large sums out of his private fortune, and to have contracted large debts with the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty, partly for the service of the United States and partly for the service of the State of Virginia: that public faith, justice and humanity require that the sundry accounts should be liquidated and the balances paid, or least security given for payment of the same whenever the State of our public funds shall render it practicable: that therefore it be recommended to the State of Virginia, to cause the Accounts of M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock with that State, to be adjusted with as much dispatch as may be practicable, in order that M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock's accounts with the United States may also be adjusted"

Whereupon

Resolved

That Congress agree to the said Report.

CHA. THOMSON Secy.

SPANISH OVERTURES TO THE CHICKASAWS

*October 24, 1782* <sup>37</sup>

*Account of that which was reported by the Indian messenger who arrived the 24th of October, 1782, sent by the Chiefs of the Choctaw nation named Tascapilacho and Panchefalabe.*

He states that the above-named chiefs, having taken the white flag and the letters of the governor to the Chickasaw nation, arrived at

<sup>36</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>37</sup> BL.

the cabin of Paymataa, principal chief of this nation, but found only his brother Tascapatapo, or Red King, who is also a chief of great importance. He received with great satisfaction the flag and letters that were presented to him. Immediately he gathered together all the greatest warriors, and even the women and boys of his village; he told them that the white road which they so desired was at hand, and that the flag which he held in his hand was the sure symbol of a peace that they had proposed and desired for such a long time. Not being able for the present to come with the chiefs who were conveying the flag and letters, they all begged that in their name they should advise the great Spanish chief that, having made peace with the Americans, they had sent their brother Paymataa and another chief to make peace with the Cherokees and Talapoosas. As soon as they returned, they would come by water and by land to take the hand of the great Spanish chief, confirming the peace which they considered already made and assured, taking with them and delivering all the prisoners that there were in this nation whom they regarded as brothers. They, however, could not say whether it would be carried out in a month or two, or in the middle of winter. Only the return of Paymataa could decide the time; but notice would be given by a messenger, when they were to begin their journey.

(Rubric of Pedro Piernas)

PIERNAS TO MIRÓ

*October 28, 1782*<sup>38</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Since the departure of Your Lordship from this post, nothing new has occurred which merits your attention, unless it be the arrival of an Indian from the Choctaw nation, sent by the chiefs, Tascapilacho and Panchefalabe, in order to advise Your Lordship of the matters included in the account which I herewith enclose for your information. He was sent so that you may know the excellent effect that was produced, as is herein manifest, by the commission which Your Lordship gave to the aforementioned chiefs as emissaries bearing the propositions of Your Lordship to the Chickasaw nation with a view of establishing peace, and also to tell you of the other matters that were part of their commission and of which they were duly instructed.

Likewise, after his departure, there arrived three or four parties from the various villages of the Choctaw nation with their chiefs, who came to see Your Lordship. I received them in the best possible manner, and sent them away content, with a small present given to each one of the aforesaid parties. As soon as anything occurs,

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<sup>38</sup> BL.

I shall communicate it to Your Lordship whose life I beg that God may spare us many years.

NATCHEZ, *October 28, 1782.*

Your servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MRS. POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*October 29, 1782*<sup>39</sup>

NEW ORLEANS *October 29th 1782*

Stephen Miro Esq<sup>r</sup>.

SIR

I hope that the Cause will be a sufficient Apology for the Liberty I take—Before M<sup>r</sup>. Pollocks departure, he disposed of the House I now live in to M<sup>r</sup>. Durel, reserving the upper part and the Kitchen for my Use until the Month of April and M<sup>r</sup>. Durel has disposed of it with the Same Conditions to M<sup>r</sup>. McCarty, who has thought proper since he has purchased it, to send his Negroe Wench to tell me openly in the Street that it was her Masters Orders that I should go out of the House & to keep a Number of Negroes Continually about me; They have not only insulted me Personally but have Beat my Servants severely, I have sent repeated complaints to M<sup>r</sup>. McCarty but to no Effect.

I am Sensible the Laws of Humanity and I presume to Say, no other Laws whatever can Vindicate such unjustifiable Treatment; And Sir, the knowledge I have of your known Universal good Character removes from me every doubt of having that Justice render'd me; which is due to a woman.

My best Respects wait upon your lady and Family while I remain  
Sir Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. Servant

MARGARET POLLOCK

HANSON TO MIRÓ

*October 31, 1782*<sup>40</sup>

PHILADELPHIA *31<sup>st</sup> October 1782*

SIR,

I had the honor to receive the two letters which your Excellency was pleased to write on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May and address to M<sup>r</sup>. McKean, my Predecessor, respecting Mr. Oliver Pollock. I immediately communicated them to the United States in Congress assembled. The

<sup>39</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>40</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

inclosed Resolution will satisfy your Excellency of the good disposition of Congress and of their firm determination to do Justice to Mr. Pollock, and as soon as possible enable him to satisfy the demands of those subjects of his Catholic Majesty who have so generously aided him in his services for the United States.

I pray God to have you in his holy keeping, and grant you happiness and success in the administration of your Government.

I have the honor to be, with due respect, Your Excellency's Most obedient, Very humb. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN HANSON

His Excellency STEPHEN MIRO Governor of Louisiana

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*November 1, 1782*<sup>41</sup>

PHILADELPHIA *1st November 1782*

DEAR SIR

The Inclosed from His Excellency the President of Congress will inform Your Excellency of the disposition that Congress has for settling and paying my Accounts, and reimbursing the moneys advanced me by your Subjects of which and your Good offices to me while at your place Congress retains the highest kind of Gratitude.

It only remains now to inform your Excellency that I set off this moment for Virginia to accomplish the business.

Pray God protect you and your Good Family many years.

I remain with all due Respect,

Sir Your Most Obedient and Most Hum<sup>ble</sup>. Servant

OLR. POLLOCK (Rubric)

His Excellency STEPHEN MIRÓ Esquire.

MRS. POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*November 12, 1782*<sup>42</sup>

NEW ORLEANS *12<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1782*

SIR

The following is the Treatment that I received from Mr. Macarty, he has thought Proper to Infest me here with a Coopers Shop in the Front of my Lodgings, and a band of Negroes, that has Insulted me and beat my Servants. In the office under my room he has Constantly either a banditty of Whites or a number of Insupportable Savages the noise of which no human Creature can bear. During the time of my Indisposition in Child bed, I repeatedly sent message after message begging of him Intermission of the Noise, but it Appears that

<sup>41</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>42</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

he is Destitute of all human feeling. Likewise the twelve Days my Child was sick I repeatedly sent him Word of the Noise his Set made & one Night at Eight O'clock I informed him of the Same, he sent me word for Answer that his People was Quite Quiet.

He likewise sent his Negroe Wench to Insult me openly in the street & tell me it was her Masters Orders that I should go out of his House. I am much at a loss how to Account for this Treatment to me. It is true I did strike a Negroe boy of his, tho' it was not half the Punishment he Meritted.

I have nothing further to add—

MARGARET POLLOCK

PIERNAS TO MIRÓ

*November 23, 1782*<sup>43</sup>

NATCHEZ, *November 23, 1782*

MY DEAR SIR: There has just arrived at this fort, an Indian of the Choctaw nation, who comes from the Yazoo River. He says that he found there a party of forty Indians of the Chickasaw nation who told him that they were going to cross over to the other side of the river in order to attack the Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Cheto nations, small in numbers, who reside in El Rapido. The aforesaid Indian, being asked if he knew the reason why they were going to attack the aforementioned nations, said that they told him those nations were the only ones who had not sent them a collar in solicitation of peace as the others had done.

This is a trivial reason, which does not merit attention, because why should peace be asked for when they have never been at war? What have the Chickasaws to fear from such small nations who are so distant from them? I argued with him that it appeared hard to believe that the Chickasaws should attempt by this attack to disturb the very peace which they solicited, for a chief of that nation has gone to that capital in order to establish it. I doubt the story and do not give it entire credence, but I call it to the attention of Your Lordship so that, if it should be verified, you may make a charge against the chief, and demand the satisfaction which such unexpected hostility calls for.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years. Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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<sup>43</sup> BL.

NAVARRO TO GÁLVEZ

*December 4, 1782* \*\*

No. 142.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have received a dispatch from the colonel of the fixed regiment of this province, Don Estevan Miró, at present interim governor thereof, instructing me to charter for the account of the royal exchequer and arm for war the most suitable of the ships in the roadstead, in order to avenge the insult to our flag by the American brigantine, *The Paty*, whose captain is William Hayden. While in this river, it seized the brigantine belonging to Don Antonio Argote, which, with a passport from this government and a flag of truce, had taken to London, in conformity with the capitulation of Pensacola, some English families, and was returning home, as Your Excellency will be more specifically informed by the governor himself. I, for my part, have not wished that such just intentions should be without result.

For this reason and so that the royal service may not later experience the bad effect which would be produced by inaction, I have chartered for the royal account, and provisioned with food, artillery, and munitions, the French schooner named *L'Aimable Julie*, captained by Martin Robin, so that, with the sloop *La Maneta* of the complement of this province, it might sally forth to execute the instructions of the governor.

All this was done with the speed demanded, as in less than three hours they had already set sail, manned by both troops and crews, for descent of the river.

I bring this to Your Excellency's attention, so that if the expedition does not succeed in overtaking the aggressor brigantine and the flag of truce vessel in order to punish the former for its territorial infraction against the laws of our sovereignty, I may obtain through Your Excellency by the mercy of His Majesty the approval I desire.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 4, 1782.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses your hand.

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ.

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*(Attached to the foregoing)*

No. 145.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The vessels of the expedition which I had

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\*\* AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

the honor, in my previous No. 142, of reporting to Your Excellency, set out in search of the American brigantine, *The Paty*; but, doubtless due to strong winds blowing from the north, it left the coast taking its prize to Boston, its home port.

Although the plans of the government have not attained the desired object of overtaking it, they have at least shown the speed and efficacy with which action is taken in matters that so demand and that are related to the service of His Majesty.

I report to Your Excellency for your superior information.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 13, 1783.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses your hand.

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ.

MAXENT TO MIRÓ

*December 5, 1782* <sup>45</sup>

*To the Governor Ad Interim.*

MY DEAR SIR: Placing myself at the orders of Your Lordship, I proceed to advise you that there are at present at this place more than four hundred Indians of the Choctaw nation, not taking into account those who have gone down to that capital. These have announced that about fifteen hundred Choctaws are ready to come in a few days. Their intention is that they shall be taken care of for they have nothing to eat. I have been exceedingly disturbed because of the increased expense that this occasions, as there have been many nations to whom I have given without knowing whether the royal treasury will be able to reimburse me.

Every hour of the day I am in receipt of complaints from the inhabitants saying that the Indians are stealing everything they can find. They even enter their homes to steal their provisions. I am not the least of those who have suffered, for in my own home they have broken into the storehouses and have stolen more than twenty barrels of maize, and an equivalent of forty barrels of potatoes. When I have remonstrated with them for these injuries, they have done nothing except laugh and have paid no attention whatever. When they go outside the fort, it is even worse. I believe that by the coming year the inhabitants will be absolutely prevented from getting any crop as the Indians burn down all the barriers or fences of their habitations without paying any attention to their remonstrances.

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<sup>45</sup> BL.

I beg Your Lordship to advise me what I should do, because within fifteen days there will be so many here that we shall be unable to cope with them. This will be even more difficult upon their return from that capital to their homes.

Your Lordship may now determine whether the account I gave you last year has not come true, for this is the most critical passage for the Indians now, and it is likely to be worse in the future because many are now coming who formerly did not know the road. My chiefs did not wish to listen to me, for they said that the Indians had never passed through here.

I am sending to Your Lordship the names of the Indian chiefs who have committed the outrages in this post, as also those who have conducted themselves well and who have my passport. The latter are Thistinatla, chief of the small medal, from the Bougtoucoulou nation, Payemastave, chief of the gorget from the Evitabucula nation, Paymengo, chief of the gorget from the Buctuculu nation, and Mingo Pouscouch, another chief of the gorget from the Mobilatocha nation. Will Your Lordship see to it that the former are duly reprimanded, mentioning the outrages they have committed in this post.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

GALVESTON, *December 5, 1782.*

Your most respectful servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

ANTONIO MAXENT (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### RESOLUTION OF VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES

*December 27, 1782* <sup>46</sup>

In the HOUSE OF DELEGATES

*The 27th of December 1782.*

RESOLV'd, that the Accounts of Oliver Pollock be liquidated agreeable to the recommendation of the Executive upon the Settlement made by their Commissioners, Sampson Mathews and Merriwether Smith Esqrs and paid in Manner following, ten Thousand Dollars immediately, and Certificates passed for the remainder of his Accounts bearing Interest at the rate of six p Cent per annum to wit ten Thousand dollars payable the first day of January, One thousand seven Hundred & eighty four, Ten thousand Dollars the first day of January, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty five, and the Ballance in Certificates with the like Interest payable in four years from the date thereof Provided that the Issuing of Certificates

<sup>46</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).



for one half the amount of the said accounts be postponed untill the said Oliver Pollock finds such security as may be approved of by the delegates representing this State in Congress for the Indemnification of the state from any demands for the bills drawn by him on Penette, Dacosta Freres & Co<sup>r</sup>.

Test. JOHN BECKLEY CHD

1782 Decem. 28th

Agreed to by the Senate

WILL DREW C<sup>t</sup>. a Copy

Test.

Signed JOHN BECKLEY CHD

CABELLO TO PIERNAS

*January 13, 1783*<sup>47</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: In the monthly mail which arrived at this place the 8th of the present month, I have received in the correspondence from my commandant general the recommendations which have been made to me for the province's administration. I herewith enclose them for Your Lordship.

Because of these recommendations, I feel obliged to place before Your Lordship certain facts. The Indians of the Lipan nation who are here passing as our friends have made a great union and celebrated peace with the Indians of the Tonkawa nation with whom they had been waging a continuous war. This peace was made in a great meeting which they held about the middle of the month of last November. Several Indians from the Texas nation, and the greater number of the Arkokisas, Mayeyes, Cocos, and Bidais also came to it. All of these engaged in a great bartering in gunpowder, ball, and some guns, for mules and horses which the Lipans steal not only in this jurisdiction and in that of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, but likewise in the towns of the provinces of Coahuila, the Kingdom of Nuevo León, and the colony of Santander. I have investigated where these last mentioned nations provide themselves with articles which, were they to pass into the hands of the Lipans, might cause us most deplorable ruination. I am informed that they obtain them when they go to the towns of Orcoquizac, Attakapas, and Opelousas.

From the observations made to me by my commandant general relative to this matter, I feel it incumbent upon me to acquaint your Lordship with the facts in order that you may make the necessary provisions so that in the aforesaid towns no gunpowder, guns, nor ball shall be given to these Indians, nor that any trader carrying

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<sup>47</sup> BL.

such goods shall leave them. It is certain that the munitions fall into the hands of the Lipans and Tonkawas who have caused us incalculable damage. This happens particularly when we attempt to pursue and punish them for their many thefts of horses. They should not be permitted to establish themselves, as they are, on the Guadalupe, Colorado, and Brazos de Dios rivers in the eastern section of these territories under the guise of a false peace with us. If they are permitted to do this, they will carry on their barter in arms and munitions with the Arkokisa, Bidai, Mayeye, and Coco Indians.

For the better accomplishment of this object I beg that you issue orders upon this occasion to Don José María de Arman and Don Francisco Rose, who are entrusted with the supplying of provisions to the friendly Indians of this province, instructing them that nothing be allowed to the Tonkawa, Texas, Yatasí, Hasinai, Ais, and Nacogdoche Indians, because from their hands all kinds of goods pass to the tribes of the coast, and from the latter to the Tonkawas and Lipans. From these conditions I can assure Your Lordship that, in view of the present system, the most deplorable consequences may result.

I, therefore, would permit them only to trade with the Tawakonis, Flechas, Taovayas, Wichitas, and Yscanis because these have given us proofs of their sincere friendship, and because I have positive proof that about the middle of December they have had a clash on the Colorado River with the Lipans and Tonkawas. It is desirable for the service of the King and the peace of these provinces to stimulate this disagreement as much as possible and to punish to the utmost degree the unbelievable daring of the Lipans and Tonkawas. I have found it extremely important that the friendly nations shall be placed under arms and that these nations of the North shall be provided with the munitions which will lead to a continuance of war with the Lipans and Tonkawas. I expect from the zeal of Your Lordship that you may contribute to the happy outcome of this intention. Your Lordship may depend upon my desire to serve you to the utmost, and I beg God to preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *January 13, 1783.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

DOM<sup>o</sup>. CABELLO (Rubric)

Señor DON PEDRO PIERNAS.

## MRS. POLLOCK TO GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL

*January 26, 1783*<sup>48</sup>

I Return the Honorable Gentlemen of the Council thanks for their Polite Invitation, & am Extremely Sorry that I cannot do myself the Honor of going to their Ball.

I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. Servant

MARG<sup>T</sup>. POLLOCK

NEW ORLEANS, 26<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1783

## BOUDINOT TO MIRÓ

*March 3, 1783*<sup>49</sup>

PHILADELPHIA 3<sup>d</sup> March 1783

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose the Duplicate of a letter addressed to your Excellency by the Honorable John Hanson, the late President of Congress and my Predecessor; and am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's Most obedient Very humb. Ser<sup>vt</sup>.

ELIAS BOUDINOT (Rubric)

His Excellency STEPHEN MIRO.

## REPORT OF NEW BRITISH CAMPAIGN

*March 9, 1783*<sup>50</sup>

FROM THE RIVER OF THE YAZOOS, *the 9th of March, 1783.*

SIR: I have received positive information from St. Augustine through one Achenitaque to whom we had promised the medal. He spent eight weeks at St. Augustine and arrived at the nation two weeks ago. He confirms what he told you as to the English coming back to Pensacola and Mobile, and that there was a very large number of people expecting to go down the river to take the forts of Natchez and Manchak as well as the city. There is nothing more certain than that the English arrived at the nation with Monsieur Betune with sufficient goods to do much harm. There are two traders who have also arrived at the small part. Frenchin Incutabé arrived with one who lives in his *cabanane*, and at the same place there is Soulier Rouge of the Cushtusha, and Tabouquas of the Gros Tigre who are to come with the blues. I think that Tomme Jem must have gone to the Natchez because he was at the Choctaw nation at the end of the last moon.

<sup>48</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>49</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>50</sup> BL, (French).

The man who is bringing me all this news spoke to me of Captain Lemare who is also returning to the Grand Gulf. He tells me that Mr. Betune has told all savages that they could all draw the hatchet at the Natchez and Mobile and steal the horses that belonged to the King of England, and that they could eat them all. He reports that there is nothing more certain than that there are large supplies at St. Augustine that they were to bring to Pensacola, and that all the Choctaws must go at the end of the month to get their present at Mobile from the English for the Spaniards have given Mobile and Pensacola to the English and the Americans have made peace with the English. That is why they are to go down the river to take Natchez, Manchack, and New Orleans. He also told me that the English knew all the fortifications that were built at Natchez, and that more than three hundred Chickasaws, men and women, left to go to St. Augustine to get the present. The Chickasaws ate up all the cows that the blues had at the Chickasaw nation and stole their horses.

Achenitague tells me also that the Kickapoos were so numerous that it was not possible to know their numbers and the Osages were in great numbers too. He also tells me that they are tired of the promises of the Spaniards, for their men are without breeches and their women are without petticoats. You may see by all these comings and goings that all the nations are throwing themselves upon them. I can only disagree with those who say that peace is going to return there for they are too active. According to the news he is bringing back, all sorts of nations were at St. Augustine.

There is one Manouabé called Castachas to whom had been given the collars and the horsehair, and he went to St. Augustine where he has received the collars from the English. His brother-in-law also went there and received the gift to replace his present horsehair. Moreover there are two captains of the Betabougoulasouchin who gave up their collars and their commissions and the English did not give them any others. I pray you to see to it that these rascals receive nothing more. He tells me also that the English who are at Natchez have already received two letters to hold themselves ready as soon as the third letter would arrive instructing them to take the fort. He tells me also that Sieur Betune told him that the English who were at the Natchez had surrendered to the Spanish for the purpose of deceiving them once more and that, as soon as he would send them the flag, they are still quite ready. Furthermore, all the people who are among the Chickasaws send all of the news to Natchez and they know all that goes on there and that the Americans are to come without fail to take Natchez.

He tells me also that the Americans have conquered the Talapoosas who have been obliged to make peace with them and give them back

the Negroes, horses, and cattle which they took from them, and that the Talapoosas were massacred with swords by American cavalry. The Shawnees are also conquered, and the Americans have made a fort; and they have also captured a party of Hurons near Detroit, whose abode is more distant than that of the Shawnees. He tells me also that the American army is before St. Augustine and that it has made an embankment with branches to separate the fort from them, and that the Americans were in great numbers. One Felipe Plaisente Turpin told us the same thing, to the effect that it was certain that the Americans had made peace with the English, and that the letters had arrived at the Natchez three months ago at least, but that everybody in the Natchez did not know this news. There are three or four houses that received these letters. Turpin also reported that the Americans were to come down the Mississippi to take Natchez again as well as the city. There is nothing that is not plausible in all this information according to what the Englishman told us, for it is in conformity with the reports brought back by the three messengers sent by us. The whole trade is stopped and I do nothing but make expenditures. We have all had a conference and in full accord we have decided to go down the river as a result of all the certain news to the effect that, as for me, St. Germain, the English want my head.

We all certify that it was better to lose a little credit than to lose our lives and merchandise and we signed his letter so that Sieur St. Germain might present it to Mr. de Piernas. He has not obliged us to go out. We ourselves urge you [St. Germain] to descend the river to forestall a greater evil, as we have only the two chiefs to guard us. All the warriors are at the hunt and they have no food to be able to remain in the village. Therefore, we have all signed, since we have heard this news from four different sources and each time it was the same thing.

In faith whereof, we have signed:

ALLEVIN

BISSONET

FRANCOIS JACQUES

BYSENTE RODRYGES

Mark of signature of CHARLES FORTIN X

Mark of MICHELLE GEUDIX X

Usual mark of GEROME CRETIN X

Usual mark of CHARLE LURIN X

ST. GERMAIN (Rubric).

## DEPARTURE OF ST. GERMAIN FROM THE YAZOO

*March 11, 1783*<sup>51</sup>FROM THE YAZOO RIVER, *March 11, 1783.*

On the 11th day of March at evening there came to us one Ogoulementabe who told us the same thing that Achenitaque did. He said that he had expected us to be robbed already and that we should go away. We went away the next day which was the 12th of the month. On the lower part of the Yazoo River we came upon a camp of Indians at which we put ashore. They told us that every day they heard gun shots above the Coupé, and that even they were scared. The women told us the same thing. It is about five days since we passed there and as we slept there that evening we also heard several shots. At night the Indians went by land to see what it was and they reported that it came from the middle island. We do not know what this means. From there we went down to another camp belonging to one Jachabé, a captain, who told us that all the Englishmen of Coles Creek had told him that the English were soon going to chase the Spaniards out and recapture the forts, Pensacola and Mobile. They said these things to him every time he went to them. They traded oil and furs with him and gave him tafia and limbourg blankets and shirts. They were allowed to trade like any of the others, but they said that it would not be long and that the English were still at Natchez.

[ST. GERMAIN].

## PIERNAS TO MIRÓ

*March 23, 1783*<sup>52</sup>NATCHEZ, *March 23, 1783.*

MY COMPADRE AND FRIEND: Day before yesterday I sent Your Lordship a letter by a pirogue which passed through this place. This boat came from Fort Pitt and was carrying some barrels of flour which its pilot, named Godfre Kreger, was taking to Pollock of Virginia. This boat was attacked on the Mississippi River forty leagues below the Ohio River by a Frenchman and five savages. Through the aforesaid pilot I acquaint Your Lordship of the affair of St. Germain and his return to this post, together with all the circumstances including the documents which the aforesaid St. Germain has presented to me for his justification. These same documents I believe are directed to the Señor de Grand-Pré to whom I am sending a letter by means of the boat which goes down with the product of the trading done up

<sup>51</sup> BL, (French).<sup>52</sup> BL.

to the present. I am acquainting him with the details of the affair so that he may be fully informed. I am sure he will transmit to Your Lordship everything pertaining to the matter.

With the boat, one or two of the chiefs of the followers of St. Germain are going down, without doubt upon his suggestion, and perhaps with trifling propositions in order to tire you and give you needless trouble. As a matter of fact they are intended to serve his own private interests, although under the guise of the public good, and particular emphasis is placed on his trading with the nations. This has not been verified.

I await anxiously the news from Your Lordship, and from my *comadre*, because for two months and some days I have received no news from that capital. Your *comadre* still continues with her fatiguing indisposition, but from her heart sends you greetings. I place myself at the feet of my Señora *comadre* and offer my respects, and my obedience to Your Lordship, begging God that your life may be spared many years.

Your best and truest friend and *compadre*.

PIERNAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*April 10, 1783*<sup>53</sup>

(Copy)

PHILAD<sup>A</sup>. *April 10<sup>th</sup> 1783.*

SIR: Your favour of the 10 of December was handed me by don Antonio De Argot the 23<sup>d</sup>. Ulto respecting the boston privateer directed by a Mr. Church which had taken one of your Flags in the Mississippi.

Previous to the receipt of your Letter I was fully instructed from Boston of Mr. Churches arival there with his Prize, and in Consequence I immediately represented this act of Treachery, Insolence & ingratitude in its proper colours to the different members of Congress, and impressed them with a true sense of that gentlemans Conduct. Since this Don Antonio de Argot has made the necessary application to them, but as it can't come before them, only in case of appeal from Boston (which I hope will not be necessary) they could only recommend to that State to make restitution, which I am in hopes will be done but if not, it will then come here to the Court of appeals, for a finall sentence, where I make no doubt ample Justice will be done Mr. Argot, at any rate be assured Sir, nothing in my Power shall be wanting in facilitating so Just a Claim.

<sup>53</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

I have the honor to be with respect Sir, your most obedient and  
Most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Sign'd

OLIVER POLLOCK (Rubric)

His Excellency Governor MIRO.

VIRGINIA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATES TO GÁLVEZ

*May 4, 1783*<sup>54</sup>

PHILAD<sup>A</sup>. *May 4th, 1783*

SIR: We have the honor of Enclosing to your Excellency a Resolution of the General Assembly of our States by which your Excellency will see that the Accounts of Mr. Oliver Pollock, are Liquidated and the balance put into a one Course of Payment.

We think it proper to give your Excellency this Information for the benefit of such of the Subjects of the King of Spain as are in Possession of the Bills drawn by the said Mr. Pollock, on Penett, Dacosta, Freres & Co. these Bills will be paid agreeable to the Inclosed resolve upon their being presented at the Treasury of Virginia.

We beg leave to recommend Mr. Pollock to your Excellency's protection, as one who has suffer'd much and who has discharged his duty both to the Publick & to his Creditors with Zeal & Integrity.

We have the honor to be with sentiments of the highest respect,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>

(Copy)

Sign'd

ARTHUR LEE

J. MADISON JR.

THEO<sup>E</sup>. BLAND JR.

JOHN F. MERCER

delegates in Congress from  
the State of Virginia

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

Governor of the Havana

DAMAL TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*July 4, 1783*<sup>55</sup>

At MARTINIQUE, *July 4, 1783*

SIR: I have the honor of requesting Your Excellency's favor and protection for MM. Hazeur, captains in the Regiment of Guadaloupe, who are going to your government to attend to some business and family affairs. I shall be infinitely grateful for any favors that

<sup>54</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>55</sup> BL, (French).



you may be so kind as to bestow upon them at my request and for the good offices which I pray Your Excellency to render them in all circumstances where they might require them.

I should be most delighted if Your Excellency enabled me to convince you of the sentiments of esteem and consideration with which I have the honor of being,

Sir, of Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant,

VICOMTE DE DAMAL

To His Excellency the Governor of Louisiana.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*August 8, 1783*<sup>56</sup>

SIR: The annexed is Copy of what I had the honor to write your Excellency from Philadelphia, since which Don Antonio De Argots Vessel & Cargo was Condemned at Boston but Restituted with Damages, to Don Antonio at the Court of appeals at Philadelphia, when I happen'd to be at the Trial and was happy to have it in my power to render him a very essential service, and shall at all times take pleasure of repeating it to any one of your Nation, and more particularly those that may offer from the Mississippi recommended by your Excellency, for whom I have the highest sense of Veneration.

I beg leave to refere you to my friend Patterson for the News, and permit me to present my respects to madam Miro and believe me to be Sir,

Your most obedient and Most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HAVANA, *August 8th 1783*.

OLR. POLLOCK (Rubric)

His Excellency Governor MIRO.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*August 18, 1783*<sup>57</sup>

HAVANA *August 18th 1783*.

SIR: This serves to inclose your Excellency copy of a letter from the Delegates representing the State of Virginia in Congress, to His Excell<sup>y</sup> Count Galvez, which letter I had the honor to hand Brigad<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Espilita at this place, who I presume will communicate the contents to your Excell<sup>y</sup>. at New Orleans, by which your Excell<sup>y</sup>. will perceive that the State of Virginia has stopt the amount

<sup>56</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>57</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

of the bills drawn by me (pr their order) on Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Penette, Dacosta Freres & C<sup>o</sup>. out of my Account, & of course that State stands indebted to the holders of said bills, which bills with their protests should be forwarded to M<sup>r</sup>. Rendon y<sup>r</sup> resident at Philadelphia, which will be recovered with 18 p C<sup>t</sup>. Damages on protest & 6 p. C<sup>t</sup>. pr annum Int<sup>est</sup>. untill paid.

On those principles, & on this scale, I had my own Acc<sup>ts</sup> settled with the State, & the holders of those bills put upon the same footing with myself, which was all I had in my power to do for them.

The Immense disbursements of the State to keep up an Army, & the ravages of the Enemy, had rendered their finances so low, that when I called on the Treasury for the 10,000 Dollars (I was ordered by the Assembly as a partial payment) I could not get as much as paid my expenses to Virginia & such you know Good Sir are the calamities of all Nations at War, for money, that it frequently or I may say generally falls heavy upon some of their Subjects amongst whom I have had rather more than by proportion, but now that Peace is happily, advantageously & Honorably established, the exorbitant expenses of the State will decrease & the revenues increase and by that means their finances will speedily put it in their power to do ample justice to her Creditors—

I have the honor to be with all due respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most hble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

OL<sup>R</sup>. POLLOCK (Rubric)

His Excell<sup>y</sup>. Gov<sup>r</sup>. MIRO.

CYRILLO TO MIRÓ

*August 27, 1783*<sup>58</sup>

SEÑOR GOVERNOR

MY DEAR SIR: I have been informed that the commandant of Opelusas, Don Alexandro de Clouet, has judicially dissolved the marriages by the Church of Bartolome le Bleu, Pedro Malet, and Bierde, Englishmen, thus condemning them to perpetual separation. Therefore, I find myself under the indispensable obligation of making this known to Your Lordship, so that you, having been informed of the injury done to my tribunal through the abrogation by this commandant of privileges for which he has no authority, and his disrespect in engaging in such a proceeding, may take the most efficacious means in order definitely to put an end to such actions. He should be made to realize that only by governmental means would it be permissible to make such separations when the case is urgent and de-

<sup>58</sup> BL.

mands it, and in case the interested parties are not able to go to the capital. My tribunal then should be advised so that it may proceed in justice as it is compelled to do. In order that in the future he shall abstain from any such procedure, Your Lordship should command that the three aforementioned persons be reunited as legitimately married. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 27, 1783*

Señor Governor, your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

F. CYRILLO DE BARCELONA, Bishop Elect (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ, Interim Governor.

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*September 12, 1783*<sup>59</sup>

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have taken note of what Your Lordship advises in your letter of January 9, last, in reply to one from my predecessor dated September 27, last, to the effect that the tobacco crop of the current year in your province would be scanty, because of the bad storms experienced. This has served as a guide in making a decision here as to what is advisable with regard to planting this crop in the villas of Orizava and Córdoba.

May Our Lord preserve Your Lordship.

MEXICO, *September 12, 1783*.

Your Most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

MATÍAS DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

MRS. POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*1783*<sup>60</sup>

SIR: please to lay peek a onside let reason & Justice take place and Return me my Cook that I Certainle do Mise and Certain it is that you have no Right to detain her upon any protence whatever

I am your Excell<sup>r</sup>. Most obedient Sirvant

MARG<sup>t</sup>. POLLOCK

MIRÓ TO MRS. POLLOCK

*September 13, 1783*<sup>61</sup>

MY DEAR MADAM: Your letter is very insulting to the authority of the government, as well as the expressions you saw fit to make use

<sup>59</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 149-1.

<sup>60</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>61</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

of a few days ago. If you continue, I shall let you know that the government has authority over women. Your negress is accused of a crime which must be tried according to the laws. These will condemn her, if guilty, or absolve her, if proved innocent. I advise you that I shall accept no other letter from you, and if you have anything to communicate to me, you may do so by means of a petition.

May God preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 13, 1783.*

MADAM MARGARET POLLOCK.

[Draft by Miró]

MRS. POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*September 13, 1783*<sup>62</sup>

SIR: So you threaten me. I think you Sir, as to your Credentials agaesnt Ladies very possible but my own opinion is natural & obvious that the greateste Difficulty does not Lay in making one feel their influence for the moment, Sir I doubt not but you will order my Servant out of Confinement not that I so much feel the Loss of hir, but humanity obliges me to speak in the behalf of the feeble & the Innocent, it is well known that she has been ill treated by those People that dreads not the Laws of God or man I am told that sometime ago, that there have been a band Published for their Reformation Sir as to Present you with a Petition be assured were I to attempt it, it would only Inflamm me to the highest degree, & would of Course parish in the Exertion, it makes no difference what Part of the King of Spains Dominions that M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock resides in, he is equally Indebted to render him Justice I hope you will not answer this Letter—

NEW ORLEANS *13<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1783*

Yo<sup>r</sup> Mo<sup>t</sup>. Obe<sup>t</sup>.

MARG<sup>T</sup> POLLOCK

His Excellency STEPHEN MIRO.

CABELLO TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*September 20, 1783*<sup>63</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: My commandant general, the very excellent Señor Caballero de Croix, desiring to encourage the Indians of the nations of the north to maintain the friendship that they have had with the province of the Texas, which is under my jurisdiction, and in

<sup>62</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>63</sup> BL.

order that mutual understanding shall be permanently rooted, has been pleased to accede to the reiterated petitions which I have made to attain this end. I have proposed that annually there shall be assigned a present for each nation as a whole and a special present for the respective chiefs. With this object in view, Don Nicolas de la Mathe, a resident of Pointe Coupée, which belongs to that province, went to the city of Arispe and offered a plan. While including other matters, this has as its principal point his offer to be the commissioner who should convey to each nation its allotted present and induce the tribes to remain in our constant friendship. My commandant general has directed me to put into effect the aforesaid project, using the quantity of presents which Don Nicolas de la Mathe has assigned to each nation. He has left the approval of the presents to my selection and judgment, relying upon my opinion and desiring to proceed according to the terms I deem best.

Taking into consideration the honor accorded me by this confidence, and since it is so serious an obligation, I have applied myself to studying the aforesaid project. Since I have noted some irregularities, I have found myself under the obligation of making note of them. I do not find it advisable that the presents be taken to the Indian villages. It would be preferable that the Indians come to the town of Nacogdoches, as it is the center of this province. A warehouse should be established in it where the goods which are to serve for this purpose should be stored.

I have likewise noted that the quantities designated for each nation and for its captain are very small, as Your Lordship will perceive from the report herewith included. A comparison with the number stated as composing each one of these nations with the report which my commandant general forwards to Your Lordship will enable you to make the computation as to whether that amount detailed by La Mathe will be sufficient or not.

The opinion of my commandant general that there should be in the post of Natchitoches stores of goods belonging to His Majesty is of no less importance. Knowing that they exist only in that capital, and that transportation to the town of Nacogdoches becomes necessary, I am advising Your Lordship of the possible total cost of goods delivered at this place. I expect that Your Lordship will be good enough to place the corresponding prices in the margin opposite each item as it is necessary to know the relative value of each. I have added some lines in addition to those contained in the statement of La Mathe because the experience of the dealings I have had with the Indians has made me realize how necessary are the goods which I have added.

For comparison of all herein mentioned, I include for Your Lord-

ship the *oficio apertorio* which my commandant general suggests that I direct to you. It is made up with the understanding that there shall be in the post at Natchitoches all that is necessary for carrying out the object that is desired. It seems unnecessary to me to have to take up this matter with the commandant at Natchitoches, but only with Your Lordship; for although I am sending to him the requisite official letter including that which my chief directs to him, I likewise am advising him that the warehouse shall not be erected at that post, but in the town of Nacogdoches. Consequently, taking into account the circumstances governing this matter in which the service of the King, the peace, and the prestige of these his royal dominions are involved, I ask Your Lordship to permit me to have my transaction directly with you in regard to the establishment and conduct of this matter. I beg you most heartily to deign to transmit to me all that you may consider conducive to the best attainment of the objective we have in mind.

I am grateful for the opportunity afforded me to offer myself for Your Lordship's service, desiring that you shall command me at your pleasure, making it possible for me to give you evidence of my desire to serve you. I trust that God may preserve your life many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *September 20, 1783.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

DOM<sup>o</sup>. CABELLO (Rubric)

Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

Statement of the presents of which Don Nicolas de la Mathe has submitted a list and which, are to be given annually to the nations of the north who are friendly with those of the province of Texas in order to maintain them in peace, and loyalty.

Names of the nations	Axes	Hatchets	Mattocks	Guns	Pounds of gunpowder	Pounds of ball	Ells of cloth	Shirts	Pounds of Vermilion	Dozens of heavy knives	Pounds of beads	Dozens of combs	Bundles of tobacco
Tawakoni in the two villages named Guscat and Fiechazo .....	12	6	6	6	36	72	16	14	6	7	14	8	16
Taovayas and Wichitas .....	24	12	12	12	72	144	32	28	12	14	28	16	40
Tonkawas .....	12	6	6	6	36	72	16	14	6	7	14	8	16
Texas .....	6	3	3	3	18	36	8	7	3	3½	7	4	8
Bidais .....	6	3	3	3	18	36	8	7	3	3½	7	4	8
Arkotisas, Cocos and Mayeyes .....	3	2	2	2	9	18	4	4	2	2	4	2	4
Kichais .....	3	2	2	2	9	18	4	4	2	2	4	2	4
Totals .....	66	34	34	34	198	396	88	78	34	39	78	44	96

## PRESENT FOR EACH CHIEF

1 Axe	1 Pair of knitted stockings
1 Hatchet	1 Pair of shoes
1 Mattock	1 Pair of buckles of common metal
1 Gun	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pound vermilion
4 Pounds of gunpowder	6 Large heavy knives
8 Pounds of bullets	1 Pound of beads
1 Pair of trousers	1 Bundle of tobacco
1 Fine trimmed shirt	

## NOTE

If friendship with the Comanches is attained, and the Wacos return, it will be necessary to duplicate the number of goods because these two nations are more numerous than all the rest.

## LIST OF GOODS USED FOR INDIAN PRESENTS

Record of prices that should be paid for goods delivered at the town of Nuestra Señora de el Pilar de los Nacogdoches including all charges thereon. These goods are to be used for making presents to the friendly Indian nations of the province of Texas. They are to be conveyed to Nacogdoches from the royal warehouses in the town of New Orleans, or on the account of the warehouse keeper who may have charge of them in the province of Louisiana. They are as follows:



[A form]

*Prices of goods  
delivered at  
the post of  
Nacogdoches*

Axes .....  
 Hatchets .....  
 Mattocks .....  
 Guns .....  
 Pounds of powder .....  
 Pounds of ball .....  
 Ells of blue Limbourg cloth .....  
 Braided shirts .....  
 Ordinary shirts .....  
 Pounds of vermillion.....  
 Large heavy knives, dozen.....  
 Pounds of beads .....  
 Dozen of combs .....  
 Bundles of tobacco .....  
 Pair of knitted stockings.....  
 Pair of shoes .....  
 Pair of metal buckles .....  
 Ordinary hats with imitation braid .....  
 Red cloth of second grade .....  
 Canes for the captains .....  
 Dozen small mirrors .....  
 Dozen awls .....  
 Paper of thick needles .....  
 Dozen medium size scissors .....  
 Dozen steels .....  
 Dozen worm screws .....  
 Ells of embroidered woolen braid with red edges, to be used for tying  
   bows .....

CABELLO TO MIRÓ

*September 21, 1783*<sup>64</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: One of the points that would be accomplished by the project presented by Don Nicolas de la Mathe to my commandant general, the Most Excellent Señor Caballero de Croix, as I have explained to Your Lordship in my official letter of the 20th of the present month, is the extirpation of the Indian nation of Karankawa, situated on some islands near this northern sea coast. This is for the purpose of liberating this coast from the murders and indescribable outrages which they have committed against the unhappy persons who have suffered shipwreck there, such as they inflicted upon Captain Landrin, his son, and the rest of the crew of the boat despatched by His Excellency Señor Don Bernardo de Gálvez for the exploration of the port of San Bernardo and the mapping of all that coast.

For the success of this expedition, La Mathe proposes that some canoes shall be constructed at Camargo, which is at the mouth of the Río Grande on the aforesaid North Sea. From that place they will go out to attack the said Indians on their islands; also some canoes can come from the Opelousas. By this operation they will be driven from their houses to take refuge on the beach, where troops from this presidio and that of the Bay of Espíritu Santo should be waiting for them to put them to the sword.

The whole success of this operation is founded upon the transfer from that province to this of about 100 men of the classes of hunters and oarsmen, so that the first named may be employed in attacking the Indians, and the second for the service and operation of the canoes in which the aforesaid Don Nicolas de la Mathe will go to take personal command of the action.

In consequence of this, and the great importance of the successful outcome of this affair, and the fact that my commandant general has put into my care the approval of this plan and direction of the aforesaid project, I am impelled to beg Your Lordship to be pleased to tell me whether it is feasible for you to send from that province the 100 men of the classes of hunters and oarsmen, and two canoes from the Opelousas with the corresponding crews of the aforesaid classes, all to unite at Camargo in order to set out at the same time on the proposed expedition.

It is taken for granted that Don Nicolas de la Mathe will furnish all facilities for the classes mentioned to gather for the said expedition, solely for the interest of the booty which they will capture on the islands of the Karankawas of which they will take possession. It appears to me probable that they will have all that they

<sup>64</sup> BL. A Pinart transcript.

are supposed to have stolen from the people who have been wrecked on that coast. I must not omit to explain to Your Lordship that this is the only reward and benefit allowed them, for I have never had any resource whatever for any other payment.

In virtue of this, I hope Your Lordship will be pleased to inform me of what means I can avail myself to obtain the said hunters and oarsmen, trusting that Your Lordship will contribute on your part to its success, since that is the object to which the request of my commandant general is directed. Reiterating my true desire to serve Your Lordship, I remain, etc.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *September 21, 1783.*

DOM<sup>o</sup>. CABELLO. (Rubric)

Señor Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

MIRÓ TO POLLOCK

*October 8, 1783*<sup>65</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: I received the favor which you addressed to me under date of August 18th, together with the letter from the deputies of the State of Virginia and the resolution enclosed therewith. Having examined all this with the care and attention merited by a matter of this nature, I could not fail to observe the remarkable disparity between the resolution of the Deputies and the letter you write. Harder than ever is it for me to foresee the payment of its just debts by the treasury of Virginia. In order to furnish you the funds you needed for your requirements, those of the State in particular, and those of the Congress in general, you had to take no more steps than necessary in this city. From this fact you should have deduced that one of your principal and most sacred obligations was to have arranged for these generous citizens the repayment of the funds advanced you in the capital of Louisiana as they have suffered enough by bearing with you the long time of four years.

I hope that after examining these remarks with due attention, you will take the steps most conducive to pacifying the just clamors of these poor people.

May God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 8, 1783.*

[Draft by Miró]

Señor DON OLIVER POLLOCK.

<sup>65</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

POLLOCK'S DEBTS IN LOUISIANA <sup>66</sup>

List of Debts in Louisiana by Oliver Pollock. Viz—

His Most Catholic Majesty.....		74,087—
Don Bernardo de Otero dec <sup>d</sup> .....	19,054.5	
Don Joseph Foucher.....	2,275	
Don Narcise Alva.....	12,205	
Don Basilio Ximenes.....	779.6	
Don Marcos Olivares.....	1,858.3	
Mons <sup>r</sup> . Beauregard .....	4,161.1	
Mons <sup>r</sup> . Periau .....	4,892	
Mons <sup>r</sup> . St. Martin .....	1,600	
Mons <sup>r</sup> . Bourgois .....	22,519.1	
Don Juan Prieto .....	500.	
Mons <sup>r</sup> . Cadet Monlon .....	19,597.4	
	89,442.4	
Paid so much on account.....	30,000	59,442.4
Dollars .....		133,529.4

## TREVINO TO MIRÓ

*October 18, 1783* <sup>67</sup>

MY VERY DEAR SIR: There recently appeared before me the great medal chiefs of the Choctaw nation named Taskapilatis, village of Yasu, and Achafale, village of Ochapachito, with all their warriors. Their visit was for no other purpose than to beg, as is their custom. I informed them through the interpreter that "the orders of their Great Father are that they are to be given nothing at this post, that the interpreter of Mobile was going around to all the villages of the Choctaw nation to notify them that this nation and the other friendly tribes should present themselves at the general congress to be held at Galveztown in the month of March, where they will be given the general present which was promised them by the Most Excellent Señor Bernardo de Gálvez, and that consequently they would be given only two days' rations at this post, but nothing else whatever." I acted as Your Lordship instructed me in your official letter of the 15th of last month.

This speech pleased them not at all. They were very annoyed and replied that they would rather go to Cumberland, because at the place specified they would fall sick and lose their wives, children, goods, etc., at the time indicated, because, as the waters of the river would be in flood, not even their horses could get through. Finally they said that Your Lordship promised them last year that

<sup>66</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).<sup>67</sup> BL. A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba Fl. Occ. 8-1225.

they would be given their present at this post, and they expect you to keep your word. I told them that what they asked for was impossible, and tried to pacify them the best I could with good reasons, likewise warning them not to annoy the inhabitants nor steal their crops and animals, because, in that case, we should treat them as enemies. I also stated that they could expect nothing from the Americans and English, because the former have nothing to give them, while as regards the latter, they have already seen how we have conquered them and driven them from the country with no hope of ever returning. Although they appeared to be satisfied, I fear that the inhabitants will be the victims of their anger. This is all I have to report to Your Lordship on this matter.

May Our Lord preserve Your Lordship's life many years.

NATCHEZ, *October 18, 1783.*

PHÉLIPE TREVIÑO (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*October 24, 1783*<sup>68</sup>

SIR: I cannot express my astonishment on receipt of the Original of the inclosed Copy; I have been particularly informed of every circumstance, & am sorry to say I little expected such treatment from a person I so highly esteemed, & always looked upon as a Friend & a distinguished Gentleman: I must beg leave to assure your Excell<sup>y</sup> that nothing but the representation of M<sup>r</sup>. Patterson & M<sup>r</sup>. Morales, by which your Excell<sup>y</sup>. seems inclined to continue the friendship that once subsisted, & the high esteem I always held your Excell<sup>y</sup>'s character in, could prevail on me to be silent.

I confess I feel myself too much hurt to dwell longer on this subject, so shall solely add, that in case the Person I hold most dear, does not merit the former friendship and politeness your Excell<sup>y</sup>. once pleased to honour us with, I hope your Excell<sup>y</sup>. will not forget what is due to her Sex & to—Sir

Your Excell<sup>ys</sup>. very obed<sup>t</sup>. & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HAVANA, *October 24, 1783.*

OLR. POLLOCK (Rubric)

HIS EXCELL<sup>y</sup>. GOV<sup>r</sup>. STEPHEN MIRO.

DU BREUIL TO MIRÓ

*November 8, 1783*<sup>69</sup>

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Anselmo Billet, resident of this place, upon learning that Colbert did not wish to return the

<sup>68</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

<sup>69</sup> BL.

goods and slaves taken on the 17th of April, requested my permission to go to ransom a Negress belonging to him who was in the possession of the Chickasaws. He had a great need of her in his house because of his many children, and I gave him this permission. Upon his arrival at the villages he found two hundred Indians of Colbert's party under arms ready to come and attack me. He presented himself before the great chief Panimataa and asked him the reason for this expedition. The chief answered that the word had been spread throughout all the villages that I had written to the commander of the Americans of the region of Illinois to send the Kickapoo, Kaskaskia, and Peoria nations against the Chickasaws and that I would, on my part, also send the Arkansas at the right time. This news he had received from a Chickasaw Indian who had just returned from Illinois and from various Englishmen who resided in the neighborhood of their villages.

The aforesaid party had resolved to come and attack this place before they would permit such an arrangement by me with the American commander. Panimataa had held them back to the best of his ability in order to await some headmen who had been sent to me. They arrived on time with the aforesaid Billet, and told him of the manner in which I had received them and of my way of thinking. All of this had such a salutary effect that the aforesaid Panimataa got together the Indians of Colbert's party and caused them to abandon their project. Billet succeeded in ransoming his slave and again the great chief sent the same headmen to give me an account of what had happened.

The chief sent me his assurance that he would send hunters from three of his villages, nearest to the Mississippi River, to winter on the St. Francis River, and promised me he would get rid of the remainder of the pirates. He assured me that he was very anxious to see me, and that, notwithstanding his great age, if I were willing to go half of the way, he would go the other half, and that we could meet at the Ecores à Margot. To this I replied that I would write to Your Excellency requesting permission. If, in the opinion of Your Excellency, such a meeting would be advantageous to the service of His Majesty, I should be willing to go even as far as his villages if it were necessary.

The Kaskaskia Indians were here with the messengers, which was a source of pleasure to me, for they were assured that the news that had been scattered in their villages was false: namely, that they were going to be attacked. They were coming down to this place to buy horses for their winter hunt, and as a matter of fact they did this while the same messengers were here.

Panimataa sent a request to me for a trader to aid his hunters.

I was not able to refuse and I have sent the aforementioned Billet, who was asked for by the Indians themselves. They promised to care for him and defend him against those of the opposite party and from the pirates.

The soldier who had been left ill in one of the villages of the Chickasaws arrived with them bringing smallpox to this place. This disease has spread among the troops of my settlement. I have three soldiers who have it, but considering the mild character of the disease, I expect they will get better with the care I give them.

The aforementioned soldier told me that Colbert had set out for Cumberland, a post of the Ohio River.

The Illinois Indians informed me of what the others had already told me when they came down, namely, that at the entrance of the Ohio River six hunters of the eight who were coming down in a pirogue had been killed.

From White River I have received no news since the hunters have withdrawn.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

FORT CARLOS III OF ARKANSAS, *November 8, 1783.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

POLLOCK TO MIRÓ

*November 10, 1783*<sup>70</sup>

HAVANA Nov<sup>r</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup> 1783

SIR

Your favour of the 8th Octo<sup>r</sup>. lays now before me and observe the Contents.

By which I find your Excellency either miscomprehended my Letter, or the true Intent & meaning of the resolve and to set this matter in a clearer point of view, please to observe that the resolve is dated the 28th decem: 1782 where the state detains one half of the amo<sup>t</sup>. of my Acco<sup>t</sup>. untill I find such Security as may be approved of by the Delegates representing the State in Congress, for the Indemnification of the State from any demands for the Bills drawn by me, on Penette, Dacosta Freres & Co, and the 4th of May 1783 the Delegates determined that these Bills is the security required by the State, by all which that State takes them totally upon herself, and that in Consequence they must be presented by the holders at the Treasury for Payment, agreeable to the aforementioned'd resolve, and there is no

<sup>70</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

avoiding of this, the very nature of the Transaction points out the necessity of it.

Your Excell<sup>y</sup>. well knows that all Publick Boards are more particular than others (and for the general good of the Publick they ought to be so) and the holders of those Bills could not reasonably expect a premium of 10 p<sup>r</sup>. Cent damages for protest, without any Voucher. Consequently the protest with the original Bills must be produced at the State of Virginia (where the Payment is to be made) as they are the only Vouchers that can be received; to Indemnify the men in Office for the Payment of those Bills, after which the holders of the Bills, can order Mr. Rendon or their attorney to remit their Funds where they please.

With respect to the time of Payment, and my Exertions in this Business I must only refere your Excell<sup>y</sup>. to my last Letter on this subject and your knowledge on Business of this nature.

I have the honor to be with all due respect

Sir

Your Most Ob<sup>t</sup> and

Very Hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

OLR. POLLOCK

His Excellency Gov<sup>r</sup>. MIRO.

FAVRE TO TUGEAN

*November 25, 1783*<sup>71</sup>

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE INTERPRETER FAVRE TO MR. TUGEAN OF THE CHOCTAW NATION AT MOBILE.

I have the honor of writing to you to inform you that the savages do not want to go to Galveston. They had rather do without the gifts. This is why I have decided to go immediately with four chiefs of the great medal to the Bay of St. Louis to see Mr. Maxent. I hope to go by sea to Mobile upon my return from New Orleans. I assure you that I am quite tired of the Choctaws.

Franchimastabe and Taboka did not want to come to see me, and have forbidden their warriors to listen to the message. They are to go to Savannah with Bendime. Many of the *petite partie* have gone there too.

You will be so kind as to send me Mingomastabe's medal and his son's gorget.

At the Choctaws, in the *grande partie*, November 25, 1783

I certify that the foregoing is copied from the original

MOBILE, *December 4, 1783*

GRIMAREST (Rubric)

<sup>71</sup> BL, (French).



## ROBINSON TO COMMANDANT OF NATCHEZ

*December 7, 1783*<sup>72</sup>

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

DAVIDSON'S COUNTY NASHBOROUGH Dec<sup>r</sup>. 7 1783

SIR: I have received a Proclamation from his Excellency Alexander Martin Governor and Commander in Chief of this State requiring to have apprehended certain Persons (to the number of thirteen as specified in said Proclamation, a copy of which I will send by a French Boat which is a Trading here) who are accused on joining Capt<sup>n</sup>. James Colbert of the Chicasaw Nation at the Chicasaw Bluffs and from thence proceeding down the River in a Warlike Manner &c. which Persons so apprehended to send to you for Tryal; which Orders shall be Obey'd as soon as possibly they can; but at present it is impossible as they have chiefly dispersed themselves, I cannot tell where some into Different States, and what few remain here have got Families, but are absconded into the Woods, so that it may be a considerable time before I can have any of them apprehended but the number will be so inconsiderable, and them I make no Doubt the most Innocent that I could rather hope you would Accord in the General Ratification of Peace and give a General Pardon for all past Offenses as the lives of a few individuals whose Families thereby will be totally ruined can make but small Satisfaction but Pardoning the whole must be esteemed Generous and Noble.

But if you should not think it just and cannot accord thereto I will do everything in my Power to bring them to Justice, and wish to have as speedy an Answer as possible for I know my Countrymen will give every Assistance in their power as we all wish to Cultivate the greatest Friendship with the Subjects of his most Catholic Majesty and with all well wishers to this and the United States.

I am, Sir, with the greatest Respect, Your most Obedient, Most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>. to Command

JAMES ROBINSON L. Col<sup>o</sup>. (Rubric)

P. S. The Bearer Mr. James Hoggalt appears to me to be a Gentleman of Character and Varasity therefore shall refer you to him for further Particulars. I am &c.

J. R.

<sup>72</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

## CABELLO TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*December 15, 1783*<sup>73</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: The 13th of January of this present year I sent my official letter to your government including the instruction to the effect that the towns of Orcoquisac, Attakapas, and Opelousas shall not provide the Indian nations of the Texas, Arkokisa, Mayeye, Coco, and Bidai with arms and ammunition because of the injury occasioned through their trading them to the Lipan and Tonkawa for the many horses which they steal in this presidio and that of La Bahía. The proceeds of this trade serve as a stimulus to encourage them in their hostilities. Not having received a reply I find myself obliged to reiterate my great desire for it.

At the same time I shall include other instructions, informing Your Lordship that my lieutenant governor of the town of Nacogdoches has advised that some traders went into the territory of the Kadohadacho through the Ouachita River with intention of carrying on commerce in various goods, and particularly in brandy. Fortunately the chief and other Indians of the Kadohadacho nation, which is attached to this government, expelled them from their village. I trust that these incidents will cause Your Lordship to take measures adapted to prevent any individual of that government from entering with purposes of trading or for any other object among the nations belonging to this jurisdiction with whom friendly relations will bring about the most favorable results; especially since my commandant general has arranged for Don José Maria de Arman to carry on the trade with all the friendly nations of this province. I should esteem it if Your Lordship would inform me whether it is true Don Louis de Blanc, resident of the post at Natchitoches, was granted permission to trade with the village of the Kichai, or Quitseis. I desire that he be prevented from carrying on such commerce, since the Kichai nation is under the jurisdiction of this government, as Your Lordship will have seen from the statement which my commandant general made to you in his letter of March 19th, and which I included in mine of September 20th last. In consequence of all this, I expect to merit the honor of having your consent to these requests.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *December 15, 1783.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

DOM<sup>o</sup>. CABELLO (Rubric)

Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

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<sup>73</sup> BL.

## NEVE TO MIRÓ

*December 18, 1783*<sup>74</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: This government and commandancy-general under my charge is located adjacent to the frontier of the province of Louisiana and the unknown countries which are peopled by different nations of heathen Indians to the north and northwest. Consequently this government may find itself under the necessity of making some entrance therein from the provinces of New Mexico and Texas in order to safeguard our settlements against the designs of any foreign nation, to win over and attract to our party and religion the numerous heathen tribes which inhabit those extensive territories, and to establish communication from these dominions to new California, as His Majesty has ordered in royal cedula of August 22, 1776. However, for this project, as for such others as may advance our discoveries and conquests toward the north of this continent, the information which may be forthcoming from any travellers who have gone into those regions will be very valuable.

I do not doubt that in those archives there are likely to be papers which will offer information not only concerning that referred to above, but also concerning the location of the settlements belonging to that captaincy-general, and those of the English, as also the tribes of Indians who may depend upon them. I therefore beg Your Lordship to have copies sent to me of all those papers that you think may be useful, accompanying them with a map which will facilitate their interpretation. By these documents, with which I expect to be favored by Your Lordship, I shall be able to form a concept of the vast countries which stretch beyond the provinces of New Mexico and Texas, and of those which lie between that of Louisiana and the Californias, or those which still remain for us to explore. By combining such data with the information I already have in my office, I shall be able to proceed with understanding in any circumstances that may present themselves. I trust this matter will merit the attention of Your Lordship. I remain subject to your will and anxious to please you in whatever you may wish to employ me, for it is my desire to serve you. May our Lord preserve you many years.

ARISPE, *December 18, 1783.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

PHÉLIPE DE NEVE (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## BELLECOMBE TO CAMPBELL

*January 14, 1784*<sup>75</sup>AT THE CAPE, *January 14, 1784.*

SIR: Knowing the principles of humanity and justice which govern Your Excellency, I confidently claim your protection on behalf of an inhabitant of this colony, established at Cape Dame-Marie, from whom three men disgraced by our military laws have stolen two Negroes whom they have sold at Jamaica. As soon as this inhabitant learned of the theft of his Negroes and the direction that they have taken with them, he sent his power of attorney to a Jamaica merchant to claim them for him; but the attempts of his agent have been futile up to date. The Jew who is holding them refuses to surrender them, despite the proofs of ownership put forward by the claimant; and he would despair of ever getting them back did he not count on the good offices of Your Excellency, and the protection which you grant to whomsoever appeals to your justice.

Evil-doers should find no refuge, and, if the three who have committed the theft, have been able to disguise themselves so as to elude the measures taken by Your Excellency to prevent all sorts of bandits from infesting the colony placed in your charge, I am sure that you will have them sought after, and that you will treat them as they deserve. Mr. Leysson's agent will furnish all the information necessary for their identification, and will show to Your Excellency a proof of the ownership of the two Negroes he is claiming.

Although the man who has bought them may be obliged, strictly speaking, to surrender them without any compensation, I do not doubt that their owner will be disposed to make some sacrifice. I therefore beg Your Excellency to be so good as to grant his just claim. I shall regard as a personal service whatever favor you may grant at my request to this person who is not very rich, and who for this very reason deserves my particular interest in his misfortune.

Allow me to seize this opportunity to repeat the sentiments of high consideration and respectful attachment with which I have the honor of being, Sir, of Your Excellency, the most humble and obedient Servant,

BELLECOMBE (Rubric).

To His Excellency M. DE CAMPBELL, Governor General of Jamaica.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CHAMBER OF AGRICULTURE OF PORT-AU-PRINCE. MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1783. MORNING SESSION.

<sup>75</sup> BL, (French).

"There disappeared from the house of M. *Leysson*, at the Little River of Cape Dame-Marie, on the night of October 28 and 29 of last year, two Negroes from Congo, one called *Médor*, about 23 or 24 years old, skin black, and branded ALN; and the other one, called *Jolicoeur*, with the same mark and of about the same age, height about 5 feet, 1 or 2 inches, with large and broad feet, having marks of rickets on the legs, and large eyes. Some people in a canoe who left the Little River that same night are suspected of having kidnapped these two Negroes; there were in this boat a man with a wooden leg, another one of ordinary height, rather thin in body and face, and a third one, smaller, bearded and rather sinister-looking.

"These men said that they came from Port-au-Prince, and that they were going to Cayes, and stopped a young Martinique boy who was going there on foot, under the pretext of giving him transportation to Cayes, and kept him all night; they sent him back at evening, saying that they had changed their minds, and that they were going to go back to Port-au-Prince. The Martinique boy is a mason, and on the 29th of October went to Cayes on foot, according to what he told to the man at whose house he slept. All persons who know anything about the aforesaid Negroes and the boat are requested to communicate with M. *Leysson*, living at Cape Dame-Marie. There will be a reward."

MIRÓ TO GÁLVEZ

*January 15, 1784*<sup>76</sup>

No. 51.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: At the end of last month there entered this river His Brittanic Majesty's frigate of war *Porcupine* for the purpose of taking to Jamaica the subjects of that Crown who are in this province and who can leave here. The intendant here recently confiscated some Negroes who were on board two vessels that had arrived under flag of truce for the same purpose. In this connection I was sent by Don Herbert Sawyer, lieutenant of ship of His Brittanic Majesty and commander of said vessel, letter No. 1, claiming the said confiscation to be contrary to the definitive treaty of peace between our respective Courts, and that His Brittanic Majesty's subjects may freely enter this river.

As I have not yet received either the said treaty or any order on the matter, I have given him reply No. 2, copy of which, together with that of No. 1, I send Your Excellency, so that, having taken

<sup>76</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

note of everything, as well as of what is written officially on the matter by the intendant of this province, Your Excellency may please bring this matter to the royal attention of His Majesty, and send to this government the instructions which you consider necessary for our proper guidance in such cases.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *15th of January, 1784.*

Most Excellent Sir, your hand is kissed by your most attentive servant.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor Don Joseph de Gálvez.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Copy No. 1.

On board the *Porcupine* below New Orleans, December 27, 1783.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Having the honor of commanding one of the war vessels of His Britannic Majesty which is here, and being, I believe, the only officer who can properly interest himself in the affairs of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty who claim the rights given and granted to them by the recent preliminaries of peace and afterwards by the definitive treaty between the several powers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, I conceive it to be my duty to ask Your Excellency why the vessels and goods belonging to the subjects of His Britannic Majesty are being detained by Your Excellency's government.

How have they or any of them been guilty of any infraction of the terms of the treaty and the intercourse established between all the states of Europe, particularly those who were lately at war? And if they have been guilty, I beg Your Excellency to let me know in what particular they have been so.

These vessels, I have been given to understand, according to what has been represented to me by their owners, Mr. Samuel Courtauld and Mr. James Garrett, have come here to participate in the right of free navigation of the Mississippi River under what is stipulated not only in the preliminaries of peace, but also expressly agreed and confirmed by the definitive treaty made between the belligerent powers respectively.

Under these circumstances I cannot fully understand why the vessels of subjects of His Britannic Majesty are prevented from freely navigating the Mississippi River, and I beg Your Excellency to give me a categorical answer to this question as a matter of public right, so that I may present it to His Excellency, General Campbell, on my return to Jamaica.

HERBERT SAWYER

A copy

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Copy No. 2.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From your Lordship's letter of the 27th instant I note with surprise that the owners of the two vessels under flag of truce on which the Señor Intendant of this province has confiscated some Negroes have not informed Your Lordship about it with the exact veracity that matters of this nature demand.

However, replying to Your Lordship's questions in the order that you put them, I shall say: that the Negroes were confiscated by the said Señor Intendant for the reason that commerce in them is unlawful in view of the circumstances with which the Messrs. Courtauld and Garret, captains of the two vessels under flag of truce anchored in this river, have attempted to bring them in without having the permission therefor of the King, my master.

The said two vessels, far from being detained, are from this very instant, enjoying the immunity offered them by the sacred flag of truce and the credentials of the Most Excellent Señor Don Archibald Campbell, and may depart when they like.

From this categorical answer Your Lordship can clearly deduce how these men have exposed themselves to confiscation for attempting, under the protection of the flag of truce, to bring into New Orleans, its district or the province of Louisiana things prohibited or forbidden, and without the requisites that my Sovereign has prescribed for their importation.

On this occasion I can do no less than tell Your Lordship that there has not yet come to my notice any treaty of commerce that changes this system of things. Neither can I do less than bring to Your Lordship's attention how surprised I am that you should tell me that Courtauld and Garrett came here for the purpose of participating in the privilege of free navigation of the Mississippi River when from the said letter from the Most Excellent Señor, the General of Jamaica, of October 18, this year, it appears that Garrett came here for the purpose of embarking those subjects of His Brittanic Majesty who wish to go to Jamaica with their goods, and whom it is possible to permit to leave the province.

I know of no order, nor have I received up to the present any treaty from my court, by which it is recognized that the subjects of His Brittanic Majesty have the right to free navigation of the Mississippi River. I have in my possession the preliminaries of peace between the King, my master, and the King of Great Britain, signed at Versailles on January 20, this year, the only official document on the peace that has reached my hands from my court up to the present time.

Nowhere in this authentic document is there anything to be inferred that can persuade me that my court has acceded to what was agreed between Great Britain and the United States of America regarding

the free navigation of the Mississippi River being common to the subjects of both powers.

For which reasons I cannot even agree with Your Lordship that this free navigation was stipulated by the preliminaries of peace and expressly agreed and confirmed by the definitive treaty made between the two belligerent powers.

So, in view of the foregoing, I doubt not that Your Lordship will now recognize the reasons why the Señor Intendant of this province has proceeded with the confiscation of the Negroes brought in on the two vessels under flag of truce which are now in this river, as they are articles of contraband or unlawful commerce according to orders received up to the present time.

This is the only answer that I can categorically give Your Lordship while the King, my master, does not see fit to decide otherwise in the matter.

May God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 29, 1783.*

Señor DON HERBERT SAWYER.

(A copy)

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

---

To the Governor *ad interim* of New Orleans, approving the reply given by him to His Britannic Majesty's lieutenant of ship, Don Herbert Sawyer, regarding the right that he claims to have to navigate the Mississippi freely.

In view of the content of Your Lordship's letter of January 15, last, No. 51, and of the copies accompanying it, the King approves the reply that Your Lordship gave to His Britannic Majesty's lieutenant of ship, Don Herbert Sawyer, with regard to the right that he claims that his nation has to navigate the Mississippi freely, and commands me to instruct Your Lordship to observe the same conduct and the rules prescribed in recent orders to the effect that foreign vessels are not to be admitted, even under the designation of hospitality.

May God etc.

ARANJUEZ, *May 30, 1784.*

Señor Governor *ad interim* of Louisiana.

ZÉSPEDES T. GÁLVEZ

*March 3, 1784*<sup>77</sup>

No. 1.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In royal order of the 31st of October, last year, Your Excellency is pleased to inform me that the King has

<sup>77</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.



conferred on me in propriety the governorship and captaincy general of the City of St. Augustine and Provinces of Florida with the annual salary of four thousand pesos at present allotted in royal funds, and the rank of brigadier of his royal armies, authorizing me to act in the capacity of proprietary governor pending the issuance of the corresponding commissions.

I realize, Most Excellent Sir, how much I should esteem these royal favors, undeserved by my limited merits. I also realize the obligation under which they place me, and consequently, I beg Your Excellency please to inform His Majesty that I shall not shrink from fatigue nor waste any time that may be conducive to the efficient discharge of his royal service. With great gratitude to Your Excellency for the favor which I owe to you of having obtained them for me from his royal graciousness, I place myself completely at Your Excellency's disposal, and pray God to preserve your important life many happy years.

HAVANA, *3rd of March, 1784.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

VICENTE MANUEL DE ZESPEDES (Rubric)

Most Excellent DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

McGILLIVRAY TO MIRÓ

*May 1, 1784<sup>78</sup>*

LITTLE TALLASSIE *1<sup>st</sup> May 1784.*

SIR: I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellencys very much esteemd favor of the 11<sup>th</sup> April—notifying your Intention of holding a General Congress with My Nation at Pensacola on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant. In consequence I have directed Some of the Most Capital Cheifs to hold themselves in readiness to Set out in Ten days for Pensacola & to carry as few Young Warriors as they possibly can. But notwithstanding such needfull caution, there will be a good many that will go. I will endeavour to be in Town before the 20<sup>th</sup>. Mean Time permit me to express the particular Satisfaction I feel on account of Your Excellencys encouragement to my Nation and I hope that affairs will be so settled at the ensuing Congress that it will be our Interest to be faithfull & Steady to his Most Catholic Majestys Government—I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir

Your Excellencys obedient  
Servant—

ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY

<sup>78</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 197 (English).

## CAMPBELL TO MIRÓ

*May 1, 1784*<sup>79</sup>*JAMAICA 1st May 1784*

SIR: I beg to trouble Your Excellency with a Letter which I have received from a M. de Bellecombe, Governor of St. Domingo, respecting three white men that carried off two Slaves from thence, and sold in this Island. This I find to have been actually the case; and upon Inquiry, I have great reason to believe, that those villains have gone to New Orleans.—The Gazette which is enclosed in the Letter contains a particular description of them, and as I am convinced that Your Excellency will be equally anxious as myself to bring infamy to due punishment, I take the liberty to give you this trouble, and to request on the part of M. de Bellecombe, that if the villains are found, you would be pleased to make them be secured and sent in Irons to St. Domingo.

I have the honour to be Sir Your Excellency's most Obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

ARCH<sup>d</sup>. CAMPBELL

His Excellency Governor MIRÓ.

## RATIONS GIVEN TO INDIANS AT CONGRESS OF MOBILE

*June 24, 1784*<sup>80</sup>

Statement showing the provisions consumed in rations for the Indians of the Chickasaw Nation who have attended the Congress held at the Post of Mobile.

Villages	Fresh bread		Fresh meat		Bacon		Rice		Frijoles		Corn in grain
	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	bbls.
Choculiza-----	770	----	77	----	88	----	1287	----	330	----	3½
Chatala-----	1290	----	138	----	147	----	2135	4	547	8	6½
Tascahuilo-----	1102	8	110	4	126	----	1842	12	472	8	4½
Malata-----	875	----	87	8	102	----	1462	8	375	----	4¾
Achucuma-----	700	----	70	----	80	----	1180	----	300	----	3¾
Chucafala-----	998	12	97	4	220	----	1566	8	463	----	4
Totals-----	5736	4	580	----	763	----	9474	----	2488	----	27

MOBILE, *June 24, 1784*

LORENZO CHOURIAC (Rubric).

I, Don Francisco Blache, Adjutant of the Royal Stores of the Post of New Orleans, exercising the functions of Inspector of Royal Exchequer in the present congress by order of the Señor Intendant General of these provinces, certify that the 5,736 pounds, 4 ounces of fresh bread; 580 ditto of fresh beef; 763 pounds of bacon; 9,474

<sup>79</sup> BL, (English).<sup>80</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 271.

pounds of rice; 2,488 pounds of frijoles, and 27 barrels of corn in grain, in the form and kinds detailed in the foregoing statement, are those shown by the vouchers of Señor Don Martín Navarro, Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana and West Florida, to have been distributed to the members of the villages of the Chickasaw Indians, with the assistance of the respective interpreters, from June 16 to this date, who have appeared for the holding of the congress. Rations for sixteen days for their return journey home are included.

And in order that this may serve as a voucher for the Storekeeper General of this post, Don Lorenzo Chouriac, in the account of the provisions in his charge, I issue these presents in Mobile on June 24, 1784.

FRANCISCO BLACHE (Rubric)

Verified:

NAVARRO (Rubric)

## No. 2.

Statement showing the provisions consumed in the rations for the Indians of the Alibamones Nation who have attended the Congress held at the Post of Mobile, to wit:

Villages	Fresh bread	Fresh meat	Bacon	Rice	Frijoles	Corn in grain
	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>bbls.</i>
Occhaché.....	1575 ---	542 ---	27 8	1755 ---	1485 ---	12
Conchatis.....	1728 8	594 ---	31 ---	1930 8	1633 8	13
Tomopa.....	542 8	186 ---	9 ---	604 8	511 8	5
Taskiki.....	577 8	198 ---	10 8	643 8	544 ---	4
Pahuatke.....	980 ---	336 ---	17 8	1092 ---	924 ---	4
Occhaché-Puscuch.....	210 ---	72 ---	3 12	234 ---	198 ---	-----
Kanotchatké.....	805 ---	276 ---	12 8	897 ---	759 ---	2
Chahuanons.....	175 ---	60 ---	3 ---	195 ---	165 ---	-----
Occhaché del Rio Ca-apa Talapuches.....	247 4	97 ---	-----	257 8	259 ---	-----
Totals.....	6840 12	2361 ---	114 12	7609 ---	6479 ---	40

MOBILE, June 24, 1784.

LORENZO CHOURIAC (Rubric)

I, Don Francisco Blache, Adjutant of the Royal Stores of the Post of New Orleans, exercising the functions of Inspector of Royal Exchequer in the present congress by order of the Señor Intendant General of these provinces, certify that the 6,840 pounds and 12 ounces of fresh bread; 2,361 ditto of fresh beef; 114 pounds and 12 ounces of bacon; 7,609 pounds of rice; 6,479 pounds of frijoles, and 40 barrels of corn in grain, in the form and kinds detailed in the foregoing statement, are those shown by the vouchers of Señor Don Martín Navarro, Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana

and West Florida, to have been distributed to members of the villages of Alibamones Indians, with the assistance of the respective interpreters, from June 16 to this date, who have appeared for the holding of the congress. Rations for ten days for their return journey home are included.

And in order that this may serve as a voucher for the Storekeeper General of this post, Don Lorenzo Chouriac, in the account of the provisions in his charge, I issue these present in Mobile on June 24, 1784.

FRANCISCO BLACHE (Rubric)

Verified:

NAVARRO (Rubric).

Statement showing the provisions consumed in the rations for the Indians of the Choctaw Nation who have attended the Congress held at the Post of Mobile. No. 3. Small Part.

Villages	Fresh bread		Fresh meat		Rice		Frijoles		Bacon		Bear fat		Corn in ear	
	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.		pots		bbls.	
Conchas	1165	14	1067	12	2473	8	962	8	106		13		52	
Mongulacha Scatané	157	5	55		330		194						8¼	
Yazoux	299		113		722	8	390	8					19½	
Ybitabugula	160	8	48		310		126						8½	
Abecas	110	5	37		261		125						6	
Yanabé	317	8	127	8	888	8	456	8					25	
Ankabula	120	11	50	8	367	8	175	8					8¾	
Buktukulu	79	7	22	8	139		83						4	
Ybitabuguluchi	171	15	62		446		238						12¾	
Noskobo	55	5	19		135	8	71	8					3½	
Olitacha	124	1	40	8	293	8	149	8					7¾	
Tombekbé	90	10	32		263	8	103	8					6¼	
Bukfuka	51	9	16		213		21						4	
Panté	35	10	21		154		74						3½	
Yteochakó	51	1	23		176		80						4¼	
Atchonehuba	68	12	28	8	275		83						5½	
Lokfeata	93	2	45	8	336		136						7½	
Bukfalaya	80		38		255		95						6	
Okelusa	23	10	9	8	130		10						2	
Abesa	16	8	4		64								1	
Chomontacalcé	15		5		55		12						1	
Huatontula	55		29		180		46						4½	
Totals	3345	13	1894	4	8468	8	3672	8	106		13		201¼	

MOBILE, *July 16, 1784.*

LORENZO CHOURIAC (Rubric)

I, Don Francisco Blache, Adjutant of the Royal Stores of the Post of New Orleans, exercising the functions of Inspector of the Royal Exchequer in the present congress by order of the Señor Intendant General of these provinces, certify that the 3,345 pounds, 13 ounces of fresh bread; 1,894 ditto and 4 ounces of fresh beef; 8,468 pounds, 8 ounces of rice; 3,672 pounds, 8 ounces frijoles; 106 pounds of bacon; 13 jars of bear fat, and 201¼ barrels of corn in

ear, in the form and kinds detailed in the foregoing statement are those shown by the vouchers of Señor Don Enrique Grimarest, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Armies and Governor of this Post, to have been distributed to members of the villages of Choctaw Indians of the Small Part as shown, with the assistance of the respective interpreters, from June 16 to this date, who have appeared for the holding of the congress. Rations for eight days for their return journey home are included.

And in order that this may serve as a voucher for the Storekeeper General of this Post, Don Lorenzo Chouriac, in the account of the provisions in his charge, I issue these presents in Mobile on July 16, 1784.

FRANCISCO BLACHE (Rubric)

Verified:

GRIMAREST (Rubric).

Statement showing the provisions consumed in rations for the Indians of the Choctaw Nation and who have attended the Congress held at the Post of Mobile, to wit:

No. 4. Six Villages.

Villages	Fresh bread	Fresh meat	Rice	Frijoles	Corn in ear	Bacon	Bear fat
	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	<i>bbls.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>pots</i>
Biscone.....	344 6	132 12	718 8	335 ----	12	-----	-----
Skilibatcha.....	446 14	226 12	828 8	375 8	19½	-----	-----
Youanis.....	2203 14	1853 4	3083 8	1133 8	50	100	15
Ynglichmataha.....	699 13	321 8	1095 ----	589 ----	21¾	-----	-----
Okatalaya.....	273 2	137 8	644 ----	328 ----	15¾	-----	-----
Oskelagana.....	1197 15	1003 12	2015 8	982 8	39¾	70	12
Chicachaé.....	2633 1	1794 4	5878 ----	2904 8	138	100	18
Ceniacha.....	471 12	277 ----	1007 8	535 8	21½	-----	-----
Kinchkaitla.....	341 12	200 8	811 ----	507 ----	16¾	-----	-----
Nachuba-uenya.....	863 5	639 8	1550 ----	938 ----	43¾	24	13
Biacha.....	216 7	125 8	517 ----	317 ----	11½	-----	-----
Tala.....	455 7	232 ----	1081 ----	617 ----	23¾	-----	-----
Octakchito.....	251 4	127 ----	469 8	301 8	9¾	-----	-----
Yagané-agucuma.....	192 8	98 8	476 8	284 8	11	-----	-----
Conchabulukta.....	188 8	112 8	396 8	258 ----	8	-----	-----
Pusuchakalé.....	437 7	168 ----	967 ----	559 ----	25	-----	-----
Ytechana.....	359 5	150 8	896 8	488 8	23½	-----	-----
Tanlepa.....	100 12	75 8	224 8	128 8	6¾	-----	-----
Ouya acha.....	284 8	101 ----	582 8	342 8	16	-----	-----
Octa Ktchakabé.....	163 12	52 8	348 ----	188 ----	9¾	-----	-----
Sacté-tamaha.....	134 8	50 ----	290 ----	170 ----	8	-----	-----
Chomontacalé.....	109 ----	37 ----	247 ----	143 ----	7¾	-----	-----
Chucafalaya.....	28 2	10 8	91 ----	35 ----	2	-----	-----
Totals.....	12397 6	7927 4	24618 8	12461 ----	539½	294	58

MOBILE, *July 16, 1784*

LORENZO CHOURIAC (Rubric)

I, Don Francisco Blache, Adjutant of the Royal Stores of the Post of New Orleans, exercising the functions of Inspector of Royal Ex-

chequer in the present congress by order of the Señor Intendant General of these provinces, certify that the 12,397 pounds, 6 ounces of fresh bread; 7,927 ditto and 4 ounces of fresh beef; 24,618 and 8 ounces of rice; 12,461 pounds of frijoles; 294 of bacon, 58 jars of bear fat, and 539½ barrels of corn in the ear, in the form and kinds detailed in the foregoing statement, are those shown by the vouchers of Señor Don Enrique Grimarest, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Armies and Governor of this Post, to have been distributed to the members of the villages of Choctaw Indians of the Six Villages mentioned, with the assistance of the respective interpreters, from June 16 to this date, who have appeared for the holding of the congress. Rations for ten days for their return journey home are included.

And in order that this may serve as a voucher for the Storekeeper General of this Post, Don Lorenzo Chouriac, in the account of the provisions in his charge, I issue these presents in Mobile on July 16, 1784.

FRANCISCO BLACHE (Rubric)

Verified:

GRIMAREST (Rubric).

#### No. 5. Large Part.

Statement showing the provisions consumed in rations for the Choctaw Indians who have attended the Congress held at the Post of Mobile, to wit:

Villages	Fresh bread		Fresh meat		Rice		Frijoles		Corn in ear
	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	lbs.	ozs.	bbls.
Castacha	276	-----	192	-----	515	-----	269	-----	8½
Yazoux	159	6	68	-----	269	8	134	8	5½
Chanké	128	15	67	-----	246	-----	138	-----	4½
Osaktalaya	126	12	58	8	194	8	122	8	3¾
Oufiy	121	14	48	-----	283	-----	139	-----	6¾
Mongulach	316	12	124	-----	484	-----	268	-----	10¾
Osapachito	284	10	135	8	1114	8	406	8	26½
Besucha	82	5	30	-----	234	-----	90	-----	5
Cafétalaya	53	7	10	8	83	-----	23	-----	2¾
Alonlahuacha and Okecuplé	100	8	27	-----	275	8	59	8	4¾
Echuchampulé	71	12	23	8	151	-----	67	-----	3¾
Abeca	5	10	3	-----	36	-----	-----	-----	¾
Chinuka-á	8	-----	5	-----	48	-----	16	-----	1
Totals	1735	15	792	-----	3934	-----	1733	-----	84¼

MOBILE, July 16, 1784.

LORENZO CHOURIAC (Rubric)

I, Don Francisco Blache, Adjutant of the Royal Stores of the Post of New Orleans, exercising the functions of Inspector of Royal Exchequer in the present congress by order of the Señor Intendant General of these provinces, certify that the 1,735 pounds, 15 ounces of fresh bread; 792 ditto of fresh beef, 3,934 pounds of rice; 1,733

pounds of frijoles, and 84¼ barrels of corn in the ear, in the form and kinds detailed in the foregoing statement are those shown by the vouchers of Señor Don Enrique Grimarest, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Armies and Governor of this Post, to have been distributed to members of the villages of the Choctaw Indians of the Large Part mentioned, with the assistance of the respective interpreters, from June 16 to this date, who have appeared for the holding of the congress. Rations for eight days for their return journey home are included.

And in order that this may serve as a voucher for the Storekeeper General of this Post, Don Lorenzo Chouriac, in the account of the provisions in his charge, I issue these presents in Mobile on July 16, 1784.

FRANCISCO BLACHE (Rubric)

Verified:

GRIMAREST (Rubric)

#### REDUCTION OF TARIFF

*August 5, 1784*<sup>81</sup>

With the important aim of making commerce possible to all my subjects of Spain in all the authorized ports of the Indies, I granted by article 16 of the last ordinance, dated October 12, 1778, the considerable reduction of one-half of the duties on all cargoes of registered goods directed to the lesser ports of those dominions. Experience, however, has shown that they still require further help, and I have decided to exempt them from all duties and taxes on Spanish liquors, produce, and goods, and to make a reduction from four to two percent on foreign goods which may be taken from the authorized ports of Spain and its islands of Majorca, Minorca, and the Canary Islands to the following places: San Juan of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo and Monte Christi, Santiago, Trinidad, and Nuevitas in the Island of Cuba, Margarita, Omoa, and Puerto Truxillo in the kingdom of Guatemala, Santa Marta, Río de la Hacha, Puerto Bello, and Guiana.

This leaves the commerce of Louisiana with the two Floridas and that of the island of Trinidad entirely unrestricted. This I have granted to them by the special ordinances, specified in my royal cédulas of the 22nd of January of 1782, and the 24th of November of 1783. In order that no difficulties may arise in collecting the moderate tax charged in the Indies for the sale of goods which are registered and shipped from Spain and its islands to the Indies, I hereby order the administrators and inspectors of the customhouses

<sup>81</sup> BL. (Printed).

of the authorized ports to note and specify their values in the books of registry, according to the regulation which I issued in my royal circular order, printed on August 8, 1782. This rates Spanish goods at factory price and the foreign goods at prices current at the port at the time of shipment. Let it be understood so that it may be punctually complied with, and let it be communicated to all whom it may concern, causing it to be published in these kingdoms and those of the Indies. Signed by the royal hand of his Majesty. In San Ildefonso, on *August 5, 1784*. To Don Josef de Gálvez.

It is a copy of the original.

GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

ZÉSPEDES TO GÁLVEZ

*August 16, 1784*<sup>82</sup>

No. 21.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In order that it may reach you as soon as you arrive at that place [Havana], I am sending Your Excellency the plan proposed by the English partners of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. Their request to be allowed to remain in this province in their usual business of trading with the Indians, I promised to send you in my representation of the 22nd of March last, No: 4. I ordered that they close it out but, at the same time, I was compelled to avail myself of their goods in order to placate the Indians who immediately came to see me. I also thought it well to enclose two other letters which Brigadier Don José Ezpeleta gave me a few days before my departure for this place and which he received from the Governor of Pensacola.

One is from MacLatchy, a partner of the said firm, settled on the frontier of this province, in reply to one from the above-mentioned governor. The other (copies of which I enclose as No. 1), is from a quarter Indian Englishman, named Mac Guillivray, who, according to what I am told, despite his completely Indian mode of life, is an educated man and writes English with particular elegance.

His natural talent, his acquired knowledge, and his affectation of dressing and conforming in every way to Indian customs have given him a great and universal influence over the Creek and Seminole tribes. Panton, Leslie and Company, recognizing the importance of this man, were able to win his good will, as indicated by his letter to the governor of Pensacola, and he is at the present time interested with them in their business, which consequently adds still more

<sup>82</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.



weight to the connections and influence of this firm and company with the Indians.

I also enclose another, No. 2, given me by Leslie, which was received by his partner MacLatchy from the governor of Pensacola; and in my opinion I have found the contents of all of them worthy of consideration.

The plan which they have given me in the form of a memorial to the King, translation of which I enclose as No. 3, is to inform Your Excellency so that, having studied its propositions, you may bring it to the attention of His Majesty who may decide what is to his royal pleasure. As the principal examination thereof depends solely on the insight and experience of which Your Excellency has more than anyone else in this particular, I shall set forth with more confidence what my limited knowledge considers necessary for the good of this province, submitting it all to Your Excellency's superior opinion.

It would have been very important for me to have been advised from Havana about the instructions relative to the congress mentioned in these letters. It will also be important that I be advised promptly of the results obtained in order not to proceed contradictorily because this would make an impression on the Indians who are naturally astute and suspicious. This would perhaps entail great danger. However, the points raised in said letters likewise increase the uncertainty I must feel, because the Americans on their part are exerting all the means and efforts imaginable to attract these Indians. If they are successful, it would be for this province an irreparable misfortune that would occasion its total ruin, without hope of establishing and propagating our religion, the principal object of my attention. The Americans from Georgia have already seized the opportunity through an intermediary of making a proposition to this firm of Panton and Leslie to take all their surplus stock of goods for the Indians. This indicates their resolution not only to supply themselves with goods but also to oppose us. Consequently, I consider that all these reasons are weighty enough to put me under the obligation of resisting the plans of these neighbors until His Majesty, after examining the plan of this firm of Panton, Leslie and Company which I submit to Your Excellency, may decide what is his royal pleasure.

It is certain that wide use has been made of various European goods such as powder, ball, muskets, linen, calicos, rough gingham, coarse cloths, blankets, hats, needles, pins, scissors, knives, clasp knives, thread, vermilion, mirrors, mattocks, hoes, hatchets, saddles, bridles, and many other articles and various cutlery of silver and gold plated metal. All of these things are of prime necessity to the Indians, the lack of which would cause them great inconvenience.

The supplying of these goods at the expense of the royal treasury would be impossible, for which reason I understand that first the French and later the English have sought to supply the Indians by means of trade.

In the beginning they permitted trade to be open to everybody, but it was soon seen that, by so allowing it without distinction, the result was fraud, trickery, and bad faith. Instead of attracting the Indian tribes, this system alienated them.

In order to remedy this abuse it was decided to entrust the Indian trade in each province to one single trader, giving him the liberty of establishing stores at his pleasure on the frontier and from these to send out subordinate traders who always understood more or less the languages of the Indian villages. From the liaisons that these subordinates and others of higher rank, both military and commercial, have formed with Indian women there have resulted a large number of mestizos and not a few quarter-bloods. Most of them, and sometimes they are even Indians of rank, combine in themselves European sagacity and subtlety with Indian savagery and possess in their primitive state a natural talent.

Over the traders of one or more provinces there was appointed as superintendent some person, usually of high military rank, who resided there and even went to visit the Indians in their tribes, sometimes staying months and years among them.

The traders, their cashiers, and employees at outposts were all subordinate to the superintendent, and the latter to the governors of the provinces, who received their orders from the minister. Consequently, they formed a chain of links which ended in the court and the last little trader among the Indian tribes became a useful instrument of the will of the Sovereign, both for peace and war.

From the foregoing it is clear that the firm of Panton and Company, which has been engaged in trade in this province for ten years, must have an unusual influence on the neighboring Indians, who are the Seminoles and Creeks, so that, if it is desired to win the friendship of these Indians efficaciously, it would be risky to expel this company suddenly or until several years have passed so as to give time to introduce among the Indian tribes Spaniards experienced in the trade with them and knowing something of the language.

In order to attain this desirable end, it would be advisable to send orphans and children of soldiers, eight to ten years of age, to live one or two years among the Indians, returning for two months each year to the city in order not to forget the Christian Doctrine. They might become men of means and useful to the state.

The English always took great care to restrict the sale of powder and ball to the traders, despite the fact that they are indispensable

to the Indians. They took such care that, while the Indians always had what they needed for their hunting, they never had any considerable quantity over this for fear that they would perhaps stage some outbreak or uprising.

The government also took great care that the quantity of brandy in the stores was always very small. The Indian would renounce all the pleasures of life for this liquor and, once he is stimulated thereby, he would dispose of the most precious and useful of his possessions to buy it, even a small quantity. For this reason the trader was instructed to be sparing in its sale and was held responsible if he did not obey or did not see to it that his subordinates did also.

The inauguration of this plan, with all that it can avoid in the entertaining of the Indians who appear before the governor, especially when the principal warriors and their chiefs come as a deputation, would at least greatly reduce the expense to the royal treasury.

From what I have learned from the letter of the quarter-blood Mac Guillivray and from what I have been able to conjecture from the statements of Leslie, I have seen that it has been planned to attract all the Indian trade to Pensacola and perhaps to New Orleans.

This project is useful, important, and desirable but it may be doubted whether its execution is possible, especially if it is borne in mind that indolence and an invincible tenacity to their old customs constitutes the most essential part of the Indian character. It would be a risky and difficult task to attempt to compel the Indians bordering on this province and accustomed to trade on its frontier to go with their pelts to the banks of the Mississippi. The result is to be deduced from what the quarter-blood says in his letter. The Indians would go to the Americans, who are nearer to them and who, as I have said, will not fail to devote all their energies to capturing this trade, not only for the love of gain, but also to advance their political plans in the future.

I am fully persuaded that, as regards the plan of the partners of this company, it is quite certain that the profit they hope to make, and their feeling of deep hatred of the new United States are the true reasons inspiring them rather than the particular affection that they profess for the Spanish nation and the desires of offering their services to His Majesty; but whatever the reason which inspires them, I consider that their continuance here for some years will be useful and even necessary for the royal service.

It will also be useful to place in this company a Spanish subject with some knowledge of the English language, whom it will not be difficult to find among the various cashiers in our commerce, and

who would accept with pleasure and gratitude an appointment which would probably give him a permanent and solid position, and perhaps a goodly fortune. This would contribute to the service of His Majesty and consequently to the advantages of the Spanish nation, which is my sole interest.

I submit this to Your Excellency in order that it may receive from the graciousness of the King the approval which I hope for this project.

May God preserve Your Excellency the many happy years that I desire.

SAN AGUSTÍN DE LA FLORIDA, *16th of August, 1784.*

Most Excellent Señor, your most obedient and humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

VICENTE MANUEL DE ZESPEDES (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor CONDE DE GÁLVEZ.

*(Accompanying the preceding)*<sup>83</sup>

APALACHE, *4 of March, 1784.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I had the honor of receiving Your Excellency's letter. The one which was enclosed in Mr. McGillivray's has not reached my hands.

It was never our intention to continue our settlement and cattle ranch at St. Johns without permission from the Spanish government at St. Augustine nor did we ever think of trading with the Indians without similar permission or without a license from Your Excellency and the superintendent.

I have sent word to Messrs. Panton and Leslie at St. Augustine, informing them of all Your Excellency tells me as I cannot safely absent myself from here for the time necessary to make the journey from Pensacola; but I am advising one of them to undertake the journey so that he may personally have the pleasure of meeting Your Excellency and the superintendent.

Mr. McGillivray, who is partly interested with us in the Indian trade, has been informed by me of the contents of Your Excellency's letter on this subject. If I had to abandon this post now, I would lose irremediably all that is owing to us from the traders established among the Indian towns, the total of which amounts to seven or eight thousand pesos, as they, once aware of my departure, would not return in April or May to pay what they owe as they would have no hope of getting any more of the goods which I am expecting daily from St. Augustine and which were landed there before peace was concluded.

<sup>83</sup> The following is from a Spanish translation.

The vessel that brought them is under the protection of the English governor of Florida while he remains here, but once the province is handed over, we shall be under the protection of Spain. However, if it is not the pleasure of the government at St. Augustine that we should remain where we are, we shall have to remove the goods and we shall certainly move to some other country.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency, your most obedient servant.

CHARLES MACLATCHY

ZESPEDES (Rubric).

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Copy No. 2.

PENSACOLA 6 of February, 1784.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have sent to McGuillivray my reply to what you have mentioned about securing a permit to remain there. It is possible that, when the Spanish regime is established on that coast, and that, if you conform to our laws and religion, you will be permitted to retain possession of your plantation but with full warning, however, that you will not be permitted to trade with the Indians of this province unless you ally yourself with some Spaniard and have the approval of the superintendent. Furthermore, I am not at all certain of the privileges that may be granted to the English gentlemen who desire to remain in Eastern Florida as Spanish subjects, inasmuch as the final articles of peace have not yet arrived here, although already published in Havana.

You may legally dispose of the effects which you actually have in the province but you must not import any from British dominions after peace is declared.

The stock of goods that you have there and which you wish to dispose of will be sold here, as a trader of this place will buy goods of every description for the Indian trade up to a value of twenty thousand pesos or more, as well as some fine linens, nails of all sizes, fine and coarse calicos, blankets and coarse cloths and, as already said, everything suitable for the Indian trade, as you will learn from the bearer who can return with the boat.

This is all for the present and I remain desirous of serving you if it lies in my power.

Your most obedient servant.

ARTURO O'NEILL

ZESPEDES (Rubric)

Señor DON CARLOS MACLATCHY.

## No. 3.

Translation of the memorial or plan presented to the governor of Florida by traders residing in this post of St. Augustine, requesting permission to remain under the protection of His Majesty in the occupation and business of trading with the Indians.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

Memorial from Panton, Leslie and Company, traders residing in St. Augustine, respectfully declaring:

That, inspired by the most profound and enduring respect and veneration for the majesty and grandeur of the Spanish state, we beg permission to appeal to Your Excellency on a matter which we humbly conceive to be of importance to the interests of this empire. We begin by calling attention to the fact that for a period of years we have been engaged in commerce with the neighboring Indian tribes, by means of which we have acquired considerable influence over these people.

When the preliminary Articles of the recent Treaty of Peace were announced to the public, by which this province was annexed to the Crown of Spain, we immediately conceived the idea of seeking the protection of His Catholic Majesty and his gracious permission to continue this trade and intercourse with the Indians in the same way as we have carried it on heretofore under the British government of this province, although no obstacle prevented our removing for this same purpose to some of the adjacent States of America, where we would be received with open arms.

But the preference and the predilection that we feel for the honor and dignity of the Spanish monarchy influenced our decision in this regard, inducing us however, to hope for a favorable reception and the patronage of Spain for the following reasons:

1. Both for the security and tranquility of the colony and in order to raise a barrier against the possible future enterprises of restless and ambitious neighbors, the governments of Eastern and Western Florida would naturally be inclined to attract and bind the Indian tribes to the Crown of Spain. For this purpose the supplying of the wants and needs of the Indians through trade seems the only natural and practical method, and the one which would spare the government the necessity of an enormous annual expenditure for gifts which, in the end, would not produce the desired effects.

2. It seemed to us that this trade cannot be conducted by Spanish traders because the Indians will buy only those goods that long use has made necessary for them.

Very few, if any, of those are manufactured in Spain where the demand for the pelts received from the Indians in payment is very

poor. Moreover, on account of the double voyage, the articles to be imported, which for the most part are of large bulk but low price, would arrive burdened with extraordinary costs which cannot be borne by this kind of trade.

And as the pelts are of a perishable nature, they do not permit of any long, circuitous transportation through hot climates. The result consequently would be that the Americans, by carrying on this traffic without the abovementioned disadvantages and inconveniences, would find themselves in a position to sell their goods at a price considerably lower than the Spanish merchant and it is to be clearly inferred that all the traffic, friendship, and intercourse with the Indians would be concentrated in the adjoining states of Carolina and Georgia.

On these reasons we base our hopes that His Majesty in his royal wisdom will graciously condescend to encourage some British merchant to remain in this province with permission to import from Great Britain those articles which are required by the Indian traffic and to export the pelts received in payment directly to a British market.

3. We believe that no one could serve the Crown of Spain in these important matters with more efficacy, usefulness, and zeal than ourselves.

Our capital and credit, together with that of our connections in England, are fully adequate for the purpose and object proposed, and we also contribute thereto our long experience and knowledge of this trade and of the Indians.

Our having among them persons connected with and dependent upon us who for many years have familiarized themselves with their habits, customs, language, etc., as well as having their confidence and being influential among them, cannot help but give us a very wide and profitable intercourse with these people.

For this reason we seek the honor of tendering to His Catholic Majesty our most faithful and assiduous respect and devotion to the interests of his Crown in general and particularly to this portion of his empire which has most connections and trade with the Indian tribes.

In order to give more efficacy and usefulness to our services, we ask the permission and protection of His Majesty to continue our trade with these people which, hereafter will be, we humbly believe, found necessary.

We obligate ourselves on our part to keep the conduct of our commerce in Florida in every way conformable to Spanish laws and to confine our importations of British merchandise solely to those articles that are absolutely necessary for the Indian trade.

Our firm and unalterable principles have always been of an unshakable loyalty and fidelity to our natural Sovereign. Without prejudice to these principles, we now humbly desire to propose the transference of this same devotion and faithful adherence to the Spanish Monarch; and, in order to establish full faith and confidence in these, our sincere professions, we are ready to swear and willingly will swear an oath of obedience and fealty to the Crown of Spain to preserve the same submission, loyalty and constancy to it in every way as we have heretofore paid to the British Monarch. We shall conform to what is required of any subject born in Spain **as long as** we are permitted to live under and enjoy his protection in our persons and possessions and have permission to withdraw said persons and property with customary prior notice to some place in the British dominions if such should become our desire or in case that a war between Spain and England should make such a step necessary; and even in this case we shall obligate ourselves to take no part whatever, actively, personally, directly, or indirectly, against the interests of Spain.

We also humbly throw ourselves upon the gracious indulgence of His Majesty as regards our persuasions in matters of religion until, perhaps, a conviction of the errors of the Protestant doctrine may result in our conversion to the Catholic faith.

As the nature and spirit of all commerce require full and mutual confidence and trust between the persons engaged in it, without which requisite it cannot continue, it will for this very reason be expedient for us to satisfy our friends and correspondents in England as to the position which His Majesty sees fit to prescribe for us and to convince them of the security of their goods which will pass through our hands in the course of our trade.

Otherwise our credit as merchants may be injured and our most sincere and best intentions and efforts in the service of His Catholic Majesty be upset and rendered completely useless.

Wherefore we humbly beg that we be given an early notification of the royal will relative to our proposals for our guidance and so that our connections in England may without fear and with good reason continue to place, as heretofore, the same confidence in our stability.

It remains for us only to beg Your Excellency to be pleased to forward this memorial by first opportunity to His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez, captain general of the provinces of Louisiana and both Floridas, recommending it to his favorable attention and patronage in order that, through him, it may reach the foot of the throne of His Majesty.

ST. AUGUSTINE, *31 of July 1784.*

PANTON, LESLIE AND COMPANY  
ZESPEDES (Rubric)



## CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*August 23, 1784*<sup>84</sup>

No. 19.

MY DEAR SIR: On the 5th of August of this present year a party of two hundred and sixty Indians arrived here, belonging to the Iroquois, Cherokee, Shawnee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Loup nations. Among them were a great number of important and prominent chiefs, who presented me with several large collars of porcelain beads. In the great council which I had with them, with all the formalities customary upon such occasions, they spoke to me as follows:

"Spanish Father: From the moment that we had the misfortune of losing our French father and learned that the Spaniards were to be our neighbors, we had a great desire to know them and to establish with them a sincere friendship which would assure to us their affection. The Master of Life willed that our lands should be inhabited by the English, and that these should dominate us tyrannically, until they and the Americans, separating their interests, formed two distinct nations. That event was for us the greatest blow that could have been dealt us, unless it had been our total destruction. The Americans, a great deal more ambitious and numerous than the English, put us out of our lands, forming therein great settlements, extending themselves like a plague of locusts in the territories of the Ohio River which we inhabit. They treat us as their cruelest enemies are treated, so that today hunger and the impetuous torrent of war which they impose upon us with other terrible calamities, have brought our villages to a struggle with death. Particularly is this the case when we wish to go and see the Spaniards of Pensacola, Mobile, and Natchez.

"They say to us, 'Why do you want to go to see the chiefs of a poor nation that will never give you anything? Do you not know that the Spaniards will receive you well today and tomorrow will place impediments in your way so that you will not go and bother them, and in that manner prevent you from learning their weaknesses?'

"Notwithstanding these words, which we have always believed false although they are continually repeated, we have come to see you and to beg of you as our true Father, your friendship, protection, and help, supplicating that you will deign to concede an open road so that we may come to greet you and our brothers, the Spaniards; for if we find your door open, you may be assured that we shall always clasp your hand, and you will find us always ready to shed our blood for the Spanish flag. Tell us also if the other

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<sup>84</sup> BL.

Spanish chiefs of New Orleans, Pensacola, Mobile, and Natchez will receive us as you do, for this is all that we desire for the relief of our nations. This is our word of honor, which we accompany with these collars, and we call heaven and earth as witnesses of the sincerity of our heart."

I answered this statement, which I reproduce here literally in the following terms:

"Worthy chiefs and warriors of the six nations who at this moment offer me your hand: It is impossible to express the extreme pleasure with which I receive you in my arms as good sons whom I esteem and truly love. I rejoice that you have come upon a clear day and that the blue vault of the heavens where lives the Master of Life should be so bright, to the end that you may recognize that for the Indians, our allies, who come to see me with a sincere heart, and the truth upon their lips, there is not in the Spanish towns a dark day that shall threaten them with a tempest formed by our hand. All the inhabitants, my children, whom you see here, and whom you treat as your brothers, will receive you in their homes as if you all belonged to our nation; and thus you will be able to judge, while you remain in this town, whether the Spaniards deserve the evil opinion which the Americans endeavor to inspire, as you assure me.

"I regret infinitely that you should have such difficulties with the Americans. I am moved by the fearful condition of your villages and I wish that the remedy were in my power, for I would apply it with a paternal and charitable hand, and you would recognize that the Spanish chiefs are your affectionate fathers, and that the whole nation esteems you. However, as you make your homes in the territories outside of my jurisdiction, it is only possible for me to show you my good heart and my esteem for you in the name of my great chief who is in New Orleans. I, therefore, give you this present which you see here so that you may judge whether the Americans deceive you when they direct slanderous talk against us in order to prevent you from following the natural impulse which draws you to our friendship and affection.

"You may rest assured that so long as you act as you have promised me, the Spanish chiefs of New Orleans, Pensacola, Mobile, and Natchez will open to you the doors and windows of their homes as I do here to receive you, and that they will never block the roads for your nations.

"I render my thanks for the willingness which you express to shed your blood in defense of the Spanish flag, and I believe you truly and in good faith. In this belief, I clasp your hand sincerely, and I beg the Master of Life to take pity on your deplorable condition and better it according to your desire."

I accompanied my reply with a present. This action was demanded by the important object of giving to the minds of these Indians a concept of our nation diametrically opposed to what they might have acquired from the insinuations of the Americans. As a result, pleased with my manner of receiving them and my attitude during the six days which they remained in this town, they left in a very good humor, giving vent to praises of the Spaniards. I inform Your Lordship of all this for your knowledge and approval.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 23, 1784.*

Your affectionate servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DEL CAMPO TO FLORIDABLANCA

*December 11, 1784*<sup>85</sup>

No. 7.

LONDON, *December 11, 1784.*

Letter from Don Bernardo del Campo regarding the intentions entertained by the Americans of fortifying the banks of the Mississippi.

COPY OF THE LETTER.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Some days ago there arrived in England an American, delegated by the Congress to negotiate some commercial matters in Paris, who has now continued on his journey to that capital.

He was accompanied to this metropolis by an English friend of his. Don Matias de Gandasegui had occasion to see him and to dine in his company, and heard him say by way of friendly conversation that the Americans were fortifying themselves at certain points on the banks of the Mississippi (which he could not name to me definitely) with the idea of cutting the Spaniards off from the good relations and general trade which they had succeeded in establishing with the Indians in that region.

This resulted in the Americans finding themselves deprived of their trade with those tribes and from following the considerable contraband commerce which they had carried on in former times. For the purpose of recovering what they had lost they were arming themselves and preparing for a vigorous campaign.

<sup>85</sup> AGI, Indiferente General, 146-3-11.

On the other hand, Don Matias de Gandasegui has had occasion to deal with some captains who came under a flag of truce during the war. They were always sailing from here to those places, carrying all sorts of contraband goods, and though they were supposed to return without cargo, according to their contracts, they were given every encouragement by this government to the contrary.

Among them is one named Captain Orange, a very clever fellow, who is supposed to be from the Canaries and who has particularly distinguished himself in that illegal traffic.

He is at present in London trying to buy a ship.

We shall see whether he perhaps has news of the kind mentioned above, and what we are able to discover will be carefully reported to Your Excellency.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

LONDON, *December 11, 1784.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive and grateful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

DON BERNARDO DEL CAMPO

Most Excellent Señor CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA.

#### AN ACT CREATING BOURBON COUNTY

*February 7, 1785*<sup>86</sup>

GEORGIA.

An act for laying out a district of land situate on the river Mississippi, and within the limits of this state, into a county to be called Bourbon.—

Whereas it is expedient and necessary for the accommodation of the Inhabitants of this state that a new county be laid out in the same. BE IT THEREFORE enacted by the representatives of the freemen of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met and by the authority of the same, that from and immediately after the passing of this act, all that tract or district of country within the Charter Boundaries of this state which lies on the eastern side of the river Mississippi, and is contained and comprehended in the lines, limits and description herein after mentioned, shall be, and the same is hereby declared, to be formed into a new county to be called, known and distinguished by the name of BOURBON county. And be it further enacted that the following shall be the lines, limits and extent of the said county, that is to say, the same shall begin at the mouth of the river Yazous where it empties itself into the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall

<sup>86</sup> BL. (English). A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba, Fl. Occ. 11-1227.

intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North Latitude, south by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the Equator as far as the lands reach which in that district have been at any time relinquished by the Indians, thence along the line of the said relinquishment to the said river Yazous, thence down the said river to the beginning.—And the said county shall comprehend and include all the land and waters within the said description.—

And whereas it will not be proper at present to open a land office for the purpose of granting out the lands in the said county—but nevertheless it is hereby enacted and declared that whenever that measure shall be determined upon by this or a future Legislature, there shall be a right of preference agreeable to the laws of this State reserved to any or all, and every honest and friendly possessor and possessors of the said lands who shall be citizens of either of the United States or the subjects of any power that was friendly to the United States during the war, provided such persons do actually live on and cultivate the said lands or part thereof and shall apply and present themselves on equal terms with other petitioners.

And be it further enacted by the authority of the same that when it shall be determined on to grant the said lands, the price thereof shall not exceed one quarter of a dollar per acre.

And be it further enacted that the following persons (to wit) Tacitus Galliard, Thomas Green, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Jr., Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman and John Ellis shall be, and they are hereby nominated and appointed Justices of the Peace, and Abner Green register of Probates for the said county and his Honor the Governor is hereby authorized and required to administer the oath of allegiance and of office to such of the said persons as can personally attend him in Council and to grant a special commission directed to such as shall qualify before him to enable them or any two of them who shall so attend to qualify the others in the same manner as they have been qualified when they shall repair to the said County of Bourbon. And be it further enacted, that the said Justices after being duly qualified as aforesaid shall be and they or any two of them are hereby authorized and empowered to administer the oath of allegiance to this State to any person and persons inhabitants of the said county who shall not have been proscribed by this or some other of the United States of America and thereupon such person and persons shall be entitled to vote for and serve as members of Assembly or Militia Officers, and the said Justices shall keep a list

or roll of the names of all such persons as they shall administer the oath to and transmit the same to his Honor the Governor as soon as may be in the course of the present year.—

Signed in the House of Assembly, Savannah in Georgia, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1785 and in the ninth year of American Independence.

By order of the House,

JOSEPH HABERSHAM, *Speaker*

Per copy)

GEORGIA, *Secretaries Office.*

I do here certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original Act . . . . J. WILSON

Per copy)

N. LONG

WM. DAVENPORT

N. CHRISTMAS

# JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR BOURBON COUNTY, GEORGIA

*February 8, 1785*<sup>87</sup>

## *State of Georgia*

By the honorable Samuel Elbert Captain general, governor and commander in chief in and over the state aforesaid. To Thomas Green, Nicolas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, Esquires, four of the justices employed to keep the peace in the county of Bourbon in the said State.

Whereas Tacitus Galliard, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Jun<sup>r</sup>., Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman and John Ellis, Esquires, have been by the legislature of the said State nominated and appointed justices of the peace for the county of Bourbon aforesaid—and Whereas the Said Tacitus Galliard, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman, and John Ellis cannot attend his Honor the Governor and Executive Council to qualify for the said office of justices of the peace, without manifest inconveniences to their concerns—In Consideration whereof and in pursuance of an act of the Legislature I have nominated and appointed you the said Thomas Green, Nicholas Long, William Davenport, and Nathaniel Christmas, or any two of You to administer to the said Tacitus Galliard, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman, and John Ellis the following Oath of office viz.

You A. B. do swear that in the office of a justice of the peace in and

<sup>87</sup> BL, (English). A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba, Fl. Occ. 11-1227.

for the county of Bourbon, you will do equal right to the poor and rich, according to your Knowledge of the laws of the state now in force. You shall not be of council to any person in any quarrel defending before you. You shall not spare any one for any gift or other Cause, nor take anything for doing the business of your office of justice of the peace but the fee and allowances fixed and accustomed by laws— You shall not direct or cause to be directed any warrant by you made to the parties themselves but to the sheriff or constable of the said county or indifferent persons to execute the same and in all things you shall well and truly do and execute the office of a justice of the peace—so help you God.

And upon the said Tacitus Galliard, Sutton Banks, William McIntosh, Benjamin Farrar, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaman, & John Ellis taking and subscribing the same you will certify your proceedings to me under your hands and seals that the same may become a record.

In testimony Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the said state to be put and affixed at Savannah this Eighth day of february in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty five and of the sovereignty and Independence of the United States of America the ninth

J. MILTON LONG

By his Honors Command

N. S. LONG

W. DAVENPORT

N. CHRISTMAS

} A True Copy

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*March 4, 1785*<sup>88</sup>

I approve all Your Lordship reports to me in your official communication of October 1, last, No. 137, concerning the cleaning and improvement of the streets of that city, but the cost must be met from the income from public property, inasmuch as its funds and revenues can bear this without imposing any new tax upon the citizenry.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, *March 4, 1785.*

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>88</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 151-1.

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*April 6, 1785*<sup>89</sup>

To serve as political and military commandant of the post of Natchitoches, at present in charge of the Infantry Captain Don Estevan Vaugine, I have appointed Army Captain Don Pedro Rousseau, in view of the distinguished services which he has rendered; and I advise Your Lordship of this so that you on your part may issue the orders you may think advisable for the proper compliance with this action.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, 6th of April, 1785.

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

(*Accompanying the foregoing*)

In view of the distinction with which Militia Captain Don Nicolas Forstall discharged his duties as *comisario* of the settlement of Nueva Iberia, I have decided to appoint him to the political and military command thereof and of the district of Atacapas, covering which I enclose for Your Lordship the corresponding dispatch, so that you on your part may duly comply therewith.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, 6th of April, 1785.

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

[In the margin] This despatch was not answered by agreement with the Señor Governor Intendant.

HENRY TO MIRÓ

*April 16, 1785*<sup>90</sup>

Council Chamber, RICHMOND IN VIRGINIA

*April 16th. 1785*

Sir.

I have the Honor to send herewith to your Excellency "An Act punishing certain Offences injurious to the Tranquility of this Commonwealth". You will perceive by this Law that it is the Desire of the Legislature to cultivate peace & good Understanding with all the different Nations inhabiting this Continent & with none more than with the Subjects of his catholic Majesty.

<sup>89</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 11.

<sup>90</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).



I have the Honor to be with the highest Respect Sir Your Excellency's most obedient Servant

PATRICK HENRY

Governor

His Excellency the Governor for his Catholic Majesty at New Orleans.

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*April 23, 1785*<sup>91</sup>

Your Lordship informs me in dispatch of the 18th, last, that near Fort Natchez there is being held a small scow from Fort Pitt, whose owner, Benet Truly, with other families accompanying him, plans to settle at Natchez. Your Lordship asks me to tell you what you should do about this matter as well as about the flour which is the principal cargo of the scow.

As regards the first matter, there is the insurmountable objection on our part that to allow these people, and similarly the others who will necessarily request the same favor, to settle there would be to multiply the enemies within our territory.

To have to provide them with a vessel so that they may proceed to the United States through La Baliza would incur an expense which the treasury cannot stand. These reasons, together with the impossibility of their returning up-river, Your Lordship may present directly to the ministry, in order that decision may be handed down by His Majesty.

Regarding the flour, since it is a matter concerning his ministry, the intendant, Don Martín Navarro, will determine what he considers most conformable to the instructions of the King and the requirements of the present case.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, *23d of April, 1785*.

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

RENGEL TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*April 27, 1785*<sup>92</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Under date of December 12, 1783, Your Lordship was pleased to render your opinion to the governor of Texas, Don Domingo Cabello, relative to the method of facilitating the reduction or extermination of the Karankawa who, because of their cruelty and the difficulties they have placed in the way of explorations sev-

<sup>91</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 11.

<sup>92</sup> BL.

eral times attempted on their coast, deserve to be treated with all the rigor of arms until they shall be forced to withdraw from the islands which they occupy, and which serve them as refuge.

The same governor finds himself fully authorized by this commandancy general to carry out an expedition by sea and by land against those enemies with the troops of the province under his jurisdiction, one troop from the province of Coahuila, and those which may be available from the bordering province of Nuevo Santander. Recourse shall be had to Your Lordship for any aids that may be lacking, and I am persuaded that the only additional help needed would be paddlers for the canoes which have been ordered constructed for this purpose. Whatever may be requested, I trust Your Lordship will be good enough to furnish it, supplying from the royal treasury the requisite sum, under the same conditions of reimbursement as have been previously practiced.

In order that Your Lordship should be fully informed as to the importance of this expedition, I ought to make known to you that, if by this means it becomes possible to drive from the coast of Texas those barbarous tribes that infest it, there may be discovered therein some ports for large or small ships which will make possible communication and commerce with the ports of that province, Florida, the Islands of Barlovento; and any others with which it may be deemed desirable to open trade. A corresponding official document has been sent to His Majesty by this commandancy general, requesting his royal decision.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

CHIHUAHUA, *April 27, 1785.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

J<sup>PH</sup>. ANT<sup>O</sup>. RENGEL (Rubric)

Governor of Louisiana.

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*April 30, 1785*<sup>93</sup>

In order to facilitate the trade with the Indians, Your Lordship will order sold the powder which is half-damaged in those royal stores, prescribing the formalities necessary for the interests of the royal treasury and without prejudice to what is needed for the service of that post.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

HAVANA, *30th of April, 1785.*

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>93</sup> AGI. PC. leg. 11.

PROVISION FOR TRANSPORTATION OF ACADIANS FROM FRANCE  
TO LOUISIANA*May 12, 1785*<sup>94</sup>

Conditions under which the contract will be made with the ship owners for the transportation of the Acadian families who, by agreement between the Courts of France and Spain, are to be transported to Louisiana, as follows:

*Article 1.*

The ships shall take the passengers to the port of New Orleans in Louisiana, where the general disembarkation of the Acadians is to be made, and not outside the river under any pretext. However, if, contrary to expectations, it is impossible for the ships to enter the Mississippi, and it is necessary to make the disembarkation outside this river, in such case all the expenses of transportation, both of the passengers and their effects generally, to the city of New Orleans shall be charged against the account of the ship.

*Article 2.*

Each ship of three hundred tons shall not take more than two hundred and twenty-five passengers with their effects and in the same proportion those of larger and smaller size.

*Article 3.*

The maintenance of the passengers on simple rations from the time of embarkation to the disembarkation in New Orleans shall be at the expense of the ship owners. Consequently they shall be obliged to take on board in proportion to the number of passengers the quantity of provisions necessary for a voyage of three months. The quality and distribution of provisions shall be in conformity with the following table.

*Article 4.*

Also charged to the shipowners shall be all the expenses necessary for the comfort of the passengers, such as cots, etc., as well as casks for water, cauldrons, and all the utensils for the distribution of the food, the surgical chest, etc.

*Article 5.*

The ships shall be ready to receive the passengers on the day indicated in the agreement which will be made between us, and, in case they are not, the ship owners shall be obliged to pay the allowance which His Catholic Majesty gives to each passenger up to the time of his embarkation.

*Article 6.*

In case the ships are ready on the day indicated, but if the embarkation should be delayed for any other reason than contrary

<sup>94</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 626.

winds, the ship owners shall be paid two *louis d'or* for each day by way of indemnity.

*Article 7.*

The embarkation and disembarkation shall be charged to the King together with the help of the crew of the ship insofar as it may have claim to compensation.

*Article 8.*

The embarkation of the passengers shall not be made except on the day when it is seen that the ship can set sail.

*Article 9.*

Upon the completion of the embarkation, the captains shall be obliged to set sail without delay to go directly to their destination, and in case the ship should be delayed for any reason other than contrary winds, the people shall be kept on board at the expense of the ship owners, provided that the delay is caused by the ship; but if, on the contrary, it is because of unfavorable winds, the ship owners shall be paid by the King twelve sous per head per day until the wind permits setting sail.

*Article 10.*

Infants at the breast, as well as all who are born on board during the voyage, shall not be counted with respect to payment nor as passengers.

*Article 11.*

The ships shall allow ten consecutive days to facilitate the disembarkation in New Orleans, which days shall be counted from the time when that government is informed of the arrival at the port, and if it is necessary for the passengers to remain on board longer, the owner of the ship shall be paid by the King twelve sous for each person per day for maintenance, and in addition one hundred livres by way of indemnification to the ship.

*Article 12.*

The ships shall be exempt from all duties, both in New Orleans and in all the ports belonging to His Catholic Majesty which they are obliged to enter through fortuitous circumstances, upon presentation of the passport which will be given to each captain, and, by virtue of the said passports, the ships shall be given all the assistance which they might need at the most equitable prices possible during their arrival and stay in the Mississippi.

*Article 13.*

The embarkation shall be made at Paimboeuf, or in the most convenient place, which shall be indicated.

*Article 14.*

The expense of making the contract shall be assumed by the King.

*Article 15.*

Two persons shall be named as chiefs for each hundred persons, and they shall be treated with somewhat more distinction than the other passengers, that is, as under-officers.

*Article 16.*

The provisions remaining after the disembarkation of the passengers shall revert to the ship.

*Article 17.*

At the moment the embarkation of the people is begun on each ship it shall be paid for all the passengers which have been promised it, even though that number is not to be found.

*Article 18.*

If, after the charter of the ships has been made, sufficient people are not found to dispatch some one of them, it shall be indemnified with one-third of its charter price.

*Article 19.*

All the sick, such as women in childbirth, etc. shall be cared for and supplied with fresh food, which shall be carried for this purpose. Its quantity shall be arranged between us in accordance with the number of passengers on the day of the agreement. The chiefs shall be in charge of making the distribution of rations on board in conformity with the plan which will be given them.

*Article 20.*

In case of forced entry into any port belonging to His Catholic Majesty, the maintenance of the passengers shall be provided by the government there; but in case of entry into any other port, the maintenance of the passengers shall be at the expense of the ship, in view of which it will be paid twelve sous for each passenger during the time of the stay.

*Article 21*

The captains shall be obligated not to permit any passenger to disembark at any port of arrival except in case of emergency, such as contagious sickness, etc.

*Article 22.*

Before any obligation is entered into with the ship owners, the latter shall permit an inspection to be made of the condition of the vessels, as well as of the things which the owners must do, and likewise of the provisions. These inspections shall be made by experts named by the charterer.

*Article 23.*

Payment shall be made to each owner in bills of exchange at four percent on Messrs. Le Couteuls and Company of Paris at the moment when the departure of the ship is known for certain.



Nine cords of wood for each 100 persons.

Vinegar for sprinkling the ship—double that for seasoning.

One cask of water at least for each person.

We, the Consul of Spain in the province of Brittany, in charge of the expedition of the Acadians to Louisiana, certify that the conditions abovementioned and list of provisions are entirely in conformity with what we have agreed with the owner of the ship *La Bergere*, Captain M. Delandes, and that these conditions are the ones which should be observed.

Done at NANTES, *May 12, 1785.*

DE ASPRÉS (Rubric)

# ROUSSEAU APPOINTED COMMANDANT OF NATCHITOCHES

*July 4, 1785*<sup>95</sup>

[Copy]

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ, etc: Since there is a vacancy in the command at the post of Natchitoches, due to the retirement of Captain Don Estevan Vaugine who held it, and since it is advisable to appoint as his successor a person of good conduct, zeal, and experience, by order of said Señor as expressed in official communication of the 6th of April of the present year, we have appointed and by these presents do hereby appoint Don Pedro Rousseau, infantry captain, to serve in said post, inasmuch as he combines all the stated personal qualifications.

Therefore, we order military officers, sergeants, corporals of night guards, and other residents of said post of Natchitoches to regard and consider him as such commandant and obey all orders, verbal or in writing, which he might give on behalf of the royal service for policing, good government, and administration of justice of said post. To this end we issue these presents signed by our hand and sealed with the seal of our arms and authenticated by the undersigned secretary of this government in New Orleans, *the 4th of July, 1785.*

His Lordship appoints as commandant of the post of Natchitoches, Captain of the Army Don Pedro Rousseau.

*(Attached to the foregoing)*

Instructions which must be observed by Army Captain Don Pedro Rousseau, appointed by the most Excellent Conde de Gálvez, viceroy of New Spain and captain general of these provinces, as commandant, for the post of Natchitoches.

<sup>95</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 11.

*1st.* Your first and principal concern upon arrival at the post will be to win the esteem of those residents, and establish by all practicable means, union and harmony, making your rule pleasant by forbearance without at the same time being lax in administering justice and without digressing one point from the orders he might receive from the supreme government.

*2nd.* Likewise you shall cultivate the most perfect co-operation with the governor of the province of Texas and commandant of the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Nacogdoches, co-operating with said chiefs to hold the nations of Indians located between the Interior Provinces and this of Louisiana tranquil and peaceful, which object is particularly recommended by the court.

*3rd.* No trader is to have access to the nations without special permission from me, and in case any of them in the district should be without a trader, you shall propose one to me. For your part, do all you can to see that the nations of the district under your command be provided with traders of good manners and habits; and you shall take special care that they do not incur larger debts than they can pay, which can easily be avoided by seeing that they meet their obligations punctually by being on the watch that they enter the post every year, and not permitting them to accumulate supplies from various persons.

*4th.* You shall absolutely prohibit any foreigner from having commercial dealings with the Indians. If, notwithstanding, any one should accomplish this, you shall endeavor to arrest him and send him to the capital at a convenient opportunity.

*5th.* On no pretext are you to allow settlement of Americans in his district, and you shall report to me if there is any.

*6th.* You shall not permit anyone to establish himself there without express orders from me to that effect; and neither shall those already established, although being free to move to another district as their convenience or interests demand, be permitted to do so without the express consent of the supreme government.

*7th.* You shall actively promote the cultivation of tobacco, in view of the particular advantage redounding to the residents, as well as to the general benefits to the province.

*8th.* Every year you shall draw up a general census of your district, as has been the custom of your predecessors.

*9th.* You are to maintain closest co-operation with the Reverend Parish Priest, whose high personal qualifications merit every confidence. Furthermore, it is much easier to control the behavior and manage the subjects when the chiefs work in harmony.

*10th.* The special provisions of these instructions do not annul those made for the command of Natchitoches on various occasions by



the most Excellent Conde de O'Reilly, Field Marshall Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, and the most excellent captain general of these provinces, which you will find in the archives of that post. To these you shall strictly adhere, unless, due to circumstances at the time, you should have orders to the contrary from the supreme government.

*11th.* The abuse of the *escrituras* and special contracts called *sous seing prive* is very injurious and must be rigidly curtailed to avoid the continuous strife and complications that occupy the attention of the government, and distract the inhabitants from their work, for which reason you shall not allow any of those *escrituras* to be executed in any other way than before Your Lordship and the two assistant witnesses.

*12th.* By no means is Your Lordship to allow any trader or resident to make a slave of or purchase any Indian. Advise me by first opportunity if there are any at the post, who their masters are, how they acquired them, and the time they have had them. If there is found to be any abuse, it is indispensable that it be cut off at the root.

*13th.* In the incursions made by the Indians from the north on the presidios and frontiers of the Kingdom of New Spain there were many Spanish families who were captured and who even now suffer under the cruel yoke of barbarism, with great risks to their salvation. Your Lordship shall never lose any opportunity which is presented to rescue as many as possible, sending me a report of the results obtained, and making a special request on my behalf in this regard to the trader Armand and others engaged in those nations.

*14th.* You will direct the administration of justice according to the dictates of our learned laws, to which end you will be presented by the secretary of this government the Book of Instructions arranged by order of Conde de O'Reilly.

Lastly, I trust that in your activity, prudence, and zeal for the service, those inhabitants will consider themselves fortunate to be under your authority and that the superior government will not experience the past anxieties and vexations. I leave to your judgment whatever may not be found covered in the abovementioned instructions and in the present document.

NEW ORLEANS, *4th of July, 1785.*

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*August 13, 1785* <sup>96</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: By Your Lordship's official letter of the 16th of October of last year, I am advised of the complaints made by the Chickasaw nation against that of the Kickapoo in the council which

<sup>96</sup> BL.

Your Lordship held in Mobile, to the effect that the latter, because of the war which they are waging with the former, had taken a white man, and in conformity with their barbaric cruelty, had killed him in a square. I must notify Your Lordship that this information in its greater part has proved untrue, except insofar that the party who captured the aforesaid white man certainly took from him the little merchandise with which Francisco Bidole had supplied him from the post of Vincennes in order to go and trade with the aforementioned Chickasaws. After this had been done, they took him to their nation, and on reaching there immediately gave him his freedom. He came, at the beginning of this spring, to this town, where he remained for some time and later outfitted himself to go to the hunt as was his custom.

In accordance with the opinion asked by Your Lordship as to the best means to be adopted in order that the Kickapoos shall render a complete and satisfactory retribution, either exacting it from them voluntarily or by force, I shall state to Your Lordship that, insofar as force is concerned, it is impossible even to endeavor to bring it to bear, because the aforesaid nation is established in the English district. Secondly, even though any other nations should wish to rise against them, the King would expend immense sums uselessly, because most of the Kickapoos are allied with the tribes of the other district. Thirdly, to adopt the plan of refusing to receive them in this place would result in considerable injury to the inhabitants of these settlements, to the hunters, and even to the merchants who come up from that city.

Once we were to show ourselves unfavorably disposed toward that nation, they would resort to stealing from the aforementioned hunters, as well as taking the animals of these inhabitants, and they would commit other outrages. Never during the French regime nor during our own has there been any evidence of their having done this, but rather has it been to the contrary; for it is known that when the English attacked this town the 26th of May, 1780, they tried to have this nation rise in revolt so as to have them join in the attack that was made, but there was not a single Indian who wished to yield to the persuasions put forth by the English, as did other different nations of that district.

If the Kickapoos should carry on war with the Chickasaws, I do not believe that we can escape injury to our commerce, but rather, on the contrary; for, if the two nations are at variance, it will follow that the Chickasaws will not frequent these districts as they would do were they at peace, and consequently they will be prevented from trading and will provide themselves with all the necessaries they desire from the American side. Trade with the Americans would put an

end to the commerce which they probably have in Pensacola, Mobile, Natchez, Arkansas, and New Orleans. Furthermore, hostilities with the Kickapoos would cause the Chickasaws, who have free entrance into these countries, to commit the same outrages as they have always committed, even to the preventing of navigation on the Mississippi up to these settlements. Because of this, it appears to me that the most practicable method would be to advise the parties of the Kickapoo nation who constantly come to this town, to make peace, but not to force them to it. This is all the information on the matter which I can place before Your Lordship in reply to the aforementioned official letter, and the opinion which Your Lordship solicits therein.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 13, 1785.*

Your attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

CHACHERÉ TO TREVIÑO

*August 14, 1785*<sup>97</sup>

MY DEAR FRIEND: After traveling for thirteen days, three of which were rainy, I arrived at the Yazooos where my good chief informed me that he neither could nor wanted to go any farther. I am quite satisfied with him for he has made me go through all the small villages or camps. To tell the truth, we have been reduced to eating our horses' feed, but this is all passed. He has afforded us the company of his family all through the trip, dragging after him his wife and children. You can see by this in what a fix I am, without food, guides, and almost without horses. I have undertaken the journey and I shall stick it out to the end if I can.

I encouraged the bearer to go to the Natchez where he wants to settle. He is badly off and might turn out well with the passports he has. Be so good as to help him. Without him I should not have been able to send you news of me, for they have even refused me an Indian to take the letter. The chief said that when he was rested he would go himself. There are here in all, twenty or twenty-five white men scattered in several villages who appear to want to remain quiet. Mr. Green attempted to arouse them but did not succeed. I think that the road from here to the Chickasaws is open to enable me to go farther. I do not know whether I can reach there; if I do, I will return by the river. I shall give you news of myself if I can. Please be of some service to the bearer; he wants to settle with his

<sup>97</sup> BL, (French).

family in Natchez. He has done everything he could for me over here. Believe me your friend for life,

CHACHERÉ

YAZOOS, *14th of August 1785*

[Addressed:]

To Monsieur DON TREVIÑO, Lieutenant Colonel at Natchez.

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ

*August 22, 1785*<sup>98</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Considering it as one of my first obligations here to investigate all the inconveniences that may arise to cause obstacles to the peace of the inhabitants of this region and to the submissive obedience which is due the legitimate authority which governs them, I have, after reflection, made the following observations.

1. The greater part of the inhabitants of this town are natives of North America, others are English royalists, a few are French, and very rarely there is a Spaniard. Almost all of them are occupied in cultivating the land, with the exception of a few merchants who reside in the small growing town of Natchez.

2. The farmers or inhabitants are scattered in three distinct places, which for greater clarity I shall divide in three districts, to wit: Some dwell on the banks of the bayou of St. Catherine that begins about one league distant from this fort up the river, with which it forms a semi-circle. At about the same distance, the bayou turns and goes inland about four or five leagues. Another group of inhabitants is settled on the banks of the second bayou or creek which has its source about five leagues from here down the river, and forms another semi-circle which extends likewise into the interior. A third group inhabits the banks of the third bayou called Cole's Creek, which empties into the Mississippi at a distance of twelve leagues up the river from this fort. This bayou is navigable when the water is high. The boats can easily navigate it even up to the very dwellings of the inhabitants, an advantage not possessed by the first two bayous or creeks.

3. The population of these districts according to a conservative estimate based on the last census is as follows: The bayou of St. Catherine, one hundred and eighty families; the second creek, fifty-five, and the third, forty. This makes a total of two hundred seventy-five families, which, based on an average of four persons in each, represents one thousand and one hundred persons. There are to be added to this population about nine hundred Negro slaves, which make a total of two thousand persons, among whom it may be judged that there are one thousand laborers.

<sup>98</sup> BL.

4. This small population, according to a conservative estimate, will extract this year from a peaceful and satisfactory cultivation a product of one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand pesos in tobacco, cotton, maize, vegetables, animals, wood for construction, and planed lumber—a thing to be marvelled at by one who gives it any thought, for such production is seen in only a few parts of the world.

5. All these inhabitants are situated at a distance one from the other of a quarter of a league, one-half league, and some, one and two leagues.

6. All these places have unsettled lands at their rear, and the dwellers may thus absent themselves from the district. They may go and come without passing in front of any habitation, and may remain whole months outside of their houses without any news of it reaching the commandant; and for that very reason the many vagabonds and villains who inhabit the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, distant from here six, ten, and twelve days' journey, may enter into the district, and gather in the homes of the friends and companions whom they may have among the inhabitants without anybody being cognizant of the fact except those interested in the secret.

The greater part of these vagabonds, dregs of Europe and America, are men abandoned to all vices and capable of committing any crime. They are the ones who have devastated this district with their continual thefts of horses, mules and Negroes.

8. The Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, because of a humane spirit common in almost all the Indians, receive and shelter these vagabonds, sharing with them the little they have to eat, and thereby give them the means and facilities to come and steal. On such expeditions, the Choctaws in particular are wont at times to accompany them and aid them, either induced by the bad example or perhaps by their native and natural inclinations, for the consideration of the sacredness of possession is unknown to them.

9. The orders, which the commandant has given to the effect that nobody shall receive or give shelter to such people, have served neither to give tranquility to the honorable inhabitant possessing property, who lives in apprehension of being robbed of it, nor have they instilled the slightest fear or respect in the evil-intentioned accomplices and companions of those vagabonds, because the many difficulties which, under the present system of things, prevent the commandant from remedying these evils, however great his desires maybe, are well-known to both parties.

10. None of the inhabitants of this district takes a step nor leaves his home unless it is on horseback, by which means evil-intentioned persons quickly learn of the ease with which this or that theft can be

accomplished, or the reasons which there may be for them to be on their guard in case the slightest movement or intention of the commandant to go in their pursuit is heard of or seen.

11. The inconveniences and difficulties which the commandant is obliged to face in order to remedy those abuses are apparent. Lacking horses, he has no means left but to send a small detachment of troops on foot to reconnoiter the districts. The distance of these from one another, the various paths that cross from one dwelling to another, the uncertainty of the information, the length of time between such information and taking action upon it, all this deprives the power in authority of that coercive strength which inspires fear, respect, and obedience to orders.

12. In all the new and small towns there is much litigation, and lawsuits are frequent. Here, more than in any other town, rare indeed is the day that some inhabitant from the most remote district does not come to offer some complaint to the commandant, covering matters of the slightest importance. Before passing judgment the commandant is obliged to summon the defendant, and this matter alone, conducted by the constable, represents an expense of six pesos and four reales if the defendant happens to live at Cole's Creek. In case it becomes necessary to summon both of the parties for a second or third day, it occasions to both a loss of several days from their homes, their families, and the working of their land. This injury at the end of the year is considerable. Another difficulty not less serious for the same commandant is that, not knowing the language of these people, he finds himself in the greatest embarrassment to adjust their differences; and, being obliged to inform himself through an interpreter of the subtle and artful arguments with which each one of the parties tries to defend his case, although possessing the best intentions, he realizes he is liable to commit the greatest errors and to administer unjust judgments.

13. Every time that an inhabitant comes to present his complaint to the commandant he passes the entire day in the town of Natchez where it is the custom, particularly of the common people, to deliver themselves up to drink with the greatest excess. This gives rise to disputes and fights, which occasion great injuries and inspire in the vicious ones a greater desire to come to the town in order to become intoxicated than does the importance of the complaint that they have to present.

14. To the difficulties abovementioned, there must be added the greatest of all. These people, removed from the oversight of the person in command, even though today they are tranquil, upon the slightest move on the part of America, their beloved and first country, or upon the smallest reason for discontent here, founded or un-

founded, may set on foot many schemes which, on account of the distance, and of the freedom they enjoy in speaking, may do the greatest harm. These injuries cannot be repaired by means of spies whose information is rarely dictated by zeal, reason, or justice. At times such information causes disturbances, making things worse than they are.

Many of these difficulties which I have noted since my arrival here induce me to propose to Your Lordship a method which, if it merits your approval, perhaps may contribute to the peace of this entire settlement, and, if it does not prevent all injuries, may diminish the principal ones.

1. Due consideration has been given to all the difficulties above outlined, and to the fact that the character and system of this settlement differs from all others in the dominions of His Majesty. It would seem to me advisable to establish and form in each one of the three stated districts, several companies of mounted militia, consisting of thirty to forty persons in each one whose captains would annually alternate in the command peculiar to each one of their respective districts. In these companies all the inhabitants ought to be enlisted.

2. These captains should have, in their jurisdiction, the necessary authority in order to adjust and judge the differences arising among the inhabitants and to guide the particular conduct of each one, spur them to work and to care for their families and homes, reprehend with severity and punish with imprisonment, if it be necessary, those who, giving themselves up to vice, indulge in abandoned conduct, the primary origin of all evil deeds and thoughts.

3. These captains could be selected and appointed by Your Excellency from that class of decent persons who have wealth, and whose conduct has never given any cause for the slightest mistrust. Being solicitous for such appointment, I am convinced that they would bend every effort to be faithful and exact. First, because of the excellent opinion that has been held of them until now; secondly, because of the confidence reposed in them; thirdly, because of the exercise of the employment itself; and fourthly, because they are persons of property.

4. These captains, knowing the temperament and character of each one of the inhabitants of their respective jurisdictions, possessing their language, cognizant of the manners and customs prevailing in the district in regard to fences, animals, and above all, the sale and trading in horses which is generally the principal cause of their disputes, could easily settle their differences, and pass judgment on the disputes involving interests up to the amount of a hundred pesos.

The injured parties would have the recourse of appealing to this commandant, and from here to the superior government.

5. The main purpose is to watch over the conduct of the inhabitants and bring to punishment those who introduce themselves stealthily into the district. The captains could easily do this, for in addition to being obligated because of their position, they would have a direct and personal interest in pursuing and scrutinizing these evil-doers, to whom they themselves might fall victims.

6. The commandant of this fort will go at least once a month to look over the districts, sustain and encourage by his presence the policing and good government, listen to complaints against the captain if there be any, and adopt the best means which his judgment may dictate to obviate any abuses which might be introduced.

7. It will be the obligation of these captains to advise this commandant every fifteen days of any happenings in their jurisdiction. Should urgent news demand it, he is to be informed immediately.

8. The subaltern officers of these companies, as also the sergeants, corporals, and soldiers, will be obliged to present themselves armed and on horseback upon the first suggestion made by their captain. This is a point which I am persuaded will meet with no difficulty because of the facilities which all have to comply.

9. Each captain will have an exact list of the sergeants, corporals, and soldiers who form his company, and will present the company armed and mounted to the commandant of this fort when he may wish to inspect it. This it to be at least once every three months.

10. Should there be any person or persons who might offer opposition to this settlement, buoyed up with the hope of the pretensions of America, it seems to me that it would be advisable to appoint a day and make them leave the district. I cannot convince myself that this opposition could be general, for although I do not dare to pass a judgment as to the fidelity of these people, I am inclined to believe that they are not capable of starting a rebellion at the present time. I believe this, first, because I have evidence that many of those who by birth and inclination are Americans are filled with gratitude for the benefits which they have received from our government. They loudly proclaim that it would be impossible to have a control that could be milder or more advantageous; second, because in this district there are many English royalists who are bitterly opposed to American domination. Furthermore, if the appointment of the captains of militia under the aforementioned terms, or other similar terms should be put into effect, I am convinced that it would contribute greatly to fill them with the most complete satisfaction, and this would represent a new tie that would cement their loyalty and promote peace. It might contribute also (if it were advisable and His



Majesty should desire to retain these people under his government) to increase this population, and to do so at the expense of these very Americans. This is probable because the advantages which the situation of this country offers for the cultivation, commerce, and export of its products are many, and the Americans would not be able to attain them from above, even though our sovereign were to concede to them the navigation of the river.

11. The respective captains of militia in whose charge the districts fall, should give to the commandant of this fort, an exact account of the firearms which may be in his jurisdiction. Each should gather all arms which he may believe could be wrongly used or give the slightest aid to the foreigners, leaving to the others only those arms absolutely requisite for their use and defense, and he should not permit any person to set out upon or cross the highways with pistols without a special permit of the commandant.

12. Under this system, to my way of thinking, the peace of the district could be assured, because these captains would be in part responsible for the disorders of their dependents, and it would be to their interest to denounce them and provide a remedy for them. The treacherous carriers of news and the robbers would be pursued and more easily discovered and arrested. The cultivators of the land would not then be led away from the care of their homes and families nor would they find any pretext for spending days and whole weeks in the town of Natchez, delivered up to drink. The commandant would be spared having to pass judgment on disputes of slight moment which are always intricate, and often badly interpreted. Finally, he would have an intermediate and immediate force that would give him great aid in causing the orders of the superior government to be obeyed as well as any individual orders that he might give, and this would give greater prestige to his authority without diminishing his power in the essentials.

13. Perhaps this arrangement will present greater difficulties than I anticipate. The very name of militia will cause suspicion and fear, but as names do not change the essence of things, these captains could be given the name of commissaries of the neighborhood or of the district, and the militiamen could be called dependents of that commissary. This first step once taken, conducive to the practical good and assistance of the people, the necessary dependence and subordination could be gradually increased, preventing thereby any settlement from being subjected to the commission of a thousand mistakes.

14. If this system were not to merit the approval of Your Lordship, it would be necessary to establish fair-sized bodies of guards in each one of the aforesaid districts, because their distance from this commandant is great, particularly the second and third creeks, meaning

that the last-named would remain without the aid of an intermediary authority, and without this he would have no direct and immediate force over all, and over each one in particular.

15. It likewise would be very useful if through one means or another, the company of cavalry which is in that fort could be brought here, for with less expense to His Majesty it would be of greater use and would contribute a great deal to the entire and assured peace of the district.

16. As this country, because of its situation and because of the enemies which menace it from above, will demand sooner or later that there be established here either the capital of the province, or the center of its greatest forces, I believe it would be advisable gradually to place it in a respectably strong state. This alone would cause the ideas and pretensions of the Americans, which they acclaim aloud, to disappear, and would serve as a basis and as an aid to a numerous increase of population, a necessary and important object in placing this vast country, open on all sides, under protection from attacks.

17. According to the information which I have gathered, the persons of greatest consideration and confidence in each one of the three districts are as follows: In the bayou of St. Catherine, Don Richard Harrison, already captain of militia; Don Adam Bingaman, lieutenant of militia, very suitable either for captain or commissary; Samuel Gibson, Matthew White, John Burland, all three of whom are decent persons in whose loyalty there is every reason to place confidence for the subaltern positions of the same district; Christian Bingaman, John Gum, William Brokas, Caleb King, Justus King, Enrique Menadiou, John Burnet, William Henderson, and William Pountney.

For the second creek, Don Anthony Hutchins, Don Isaac Johnson, William Wousdan, for commissaries; and for subalterns some of the sons of Hutchins and of Ellis and Ruben Alexander.

For Cole's Creek as commissaries or captains; Cato West, Parker Caradine, and Richard Dewart; and for subalterns, James Truly, some of the sons of Thomas Green, John Smith, and James Elliot.

As Your Lordship knows all these persons personally, you could judge better than I and select the ones most suitable for the matter in hand.

May Your Lordship pardon these suggestions made in view of my zeal for the best service of the King. These suggestions, either decreased, amplified, or rectified by Your Lordship, will surely contribute to the desired end.

May God preserve Your Lordship the many years which I desire.  
FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *August 22, 1785.*

Your most attentive servant and obedient subject kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. BOULIGNY (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

## BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ

*August 28, 1785*<sup>99</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday morning Mr. William Davenport came with his two companions, Mr. Nicolas Long and Mr. Nathaniel Christmas, and I received them with the greatest courtesy, inviting them to dine and doing my best to treat them with the utmost cordiality. No point was taken up, but Davenport told me that on Monday they would begin to send me the official correspondence bearing on their visit and their commission. They informed me that Thomas Green had quarrelled with them, and had remained at home ill. The deference which they seem to have for Mr. Nicolas Long leads me to believe that this person is the one among them who is held in greatest esteem and whose counsel governs them all. He is a young man, but his appearance is one of seriousness and formality, and through some remarks he made to Mr. Stephen Minor, in whose home he has gone to reside, I judge that he disapproves somewhat the conduct of Davenport. He stated that they did not come here to give rise to the slightest feeling or to cause the least uneasiness.

Today I took occasion to give a reception to several ladies from the district of the St. Catherine's Bayou settlements and to Madam Hutchins. I also invited Davenport's wife, Davenport, and his two companions, of whom only Mr. Nicolas Long came, the other two having sent me word that they were indisposed.

I learned from the aforementioned Long, companion of Mr. William Davenport, that the day before leaving the Chickasaw nation one Stephen Hayward had presented himself there, and that he had a commission from Don Felipe Treviño, to reclaim two Negroes and one horse that had recently been stolen here from Mr. Stephen Minor. A man named Francis Routh, a friend of the said Hayward, offered personally to take the Negroes who were in the hands of Tonnes, the thief, but a companion of Tonnes came to the rescue of his friend, and shot at Routh, and killed him. This occasioned a great deal of talk in the nation, particularly among the vagabonds and robbers. An incident which caused greater excitement was a harangue by the half-breed Glover of the Chickasaw nation who started to fire the spirits of all the nation in favor of the assassin, saying that they should not permit anyone to dare to come and attack those who sought aid and protection. The dispute had become very violent, and was still undecided when he left.

For this reason, the aforementioned Long has been quite communicative. He seems to me to be a person of judgment and reflection, telling me that the question of vagabonds, of whom there

<sup>99</sup> BL.

are many in the Chickasaw nation as well as in the Choctaw, deserves much attention both on the part of the Americans and on our part. He states that the greatest number of these persons are natives of America, and that they have participated in crimes punishable by hanging. Today they number more than five hundred, and are all living with Indian women and know the language. They have great influence in the aforesaid nations, and are capable of inciting them to many crimes. He also told me with how much pleasure America would adopt a plan of accord with Spain that would obviate the injuries which these men bring on the settlements, both American and Spanish. He was convinced that, if it were possible to take out these five hundred men from there, and put them in a place from which they could never return, the nations would keep peace and would cause no trouble either to their settlements, or to ours. This belief appears to me well-founded upon reason and justice. I believe it would be advisable to take up such measures and plans with the superior government, if the discussion with the Americans relative to this territory be amicably adjusted, of which I have no doubt.

This informal conversation which I had before dinner with the aforesaid Long led up to the principal matter of his commission which is the American claim to this territory. Reserving any official communication with me for letters, after he has seen his companions, he told me that he regretted immensely the reports which had been scattered in this district, and assured me on his word of honor that America had not thought nor would it ever think of committing the slightest hostile act against Spain; but that apart from this, it would employ every means within its power to obtain this territory from Spain, because it found itself in such a position that it was impossible to do without it. He added that he knows and has evidence that there is no sacrifice that America would not make to obtain it from his Catholic Majesty, and that for that purpose they relied a great deal upon the mediation of France. All his conversation on this subject was directed to give me to understand that there are no treasures that America would not sacrifice in order to obtain this country, but that America would never employ other means than those of persuasion and the mediation of the other powers. This mode of thinking being so natural and legitimate I am inclined to believe that for the present it is the same as is employed by the members which compose the Congress of the United States.

From various other remarks of the aforementioned Long and from what several others have told me of Christmas, it appears that the manner of thinking of these two individuals is very different

from that of Green and Davenport, and if they continue to speak as they have done until now, they will confirm rather than disturb the peace which reigns in the district.

From what I have gleaned from the conversation of these two individuals, it seems that they have been especially commissioned to observe and examine all the lands which extend northward from the line of 31 degrees. Long in particular appears to have occupied himself a great deal with this matter. He praises greatly these lands, especially those inhabited by the Choctaws, whose rivers, bayous, and streams afford great facility for transporting their products by water to the sea coast. They told me that they would present to me three persons who came with them, two of whom are their servants, while the other only came with them to be sent immediately to the general of Georgia, doubtless with maps or detailed description of the countries which they have explored on their journey. This I am sure was the main object entrusted to them. Long touched in his conversation upon the fact that the two Carolinas and Virginia have succeeded in having the Indians, whose provinces lie at their rear, abandon the chase and devote themselves to the cultivation of the land. Doubtless Georgia has a similar project, and the persons who were sent to McGillivray, as I mentioned to Your Lordship in my letter Number 40, probably went with this object.

The aforesaid Mr. Nicolas Long informed me that, insofar as he is concerned, he would be greatly pleased to go down to New Orleans, but Minor told me he does not believe this will be done, because he heard the others say positively that their particular orders require them to remain within the limits of 31 degrees.

May God preserve Your Lordship the many years which I desire.

FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *August 28, 1785.*

Your most attentive and humble servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### LETTER BY LONG, DAVENPORT AND CHRISTMAS

*September 2, 1785*<sup>100</sup>

AMITY HALL, *2d Sept. 1783* [5]

SIR: We have jointly attested the Credentials agreeable to Your Wishes which we return.—

Being desirous of affording Col<sup>l</sup>. Bouleny every satisfaction in our power We should not hesitate one moment giving ourselves the

<sup>100</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2360 (English).

pleasure of sending him the instructions given us by the Georgia Assembly, could we conceive them in any manner Necessary to be furnished on this Occasion, but as their Contents immediately respect us, in the internal Government and administration of Affairs in case of our taking possession of the County, as it is by them we are to regulate our Conduct, we doubt not but on second Consideration Your Honor will think them as Necessary in the present matter as we do.—

We have the Honor to be Sir with much esteem yr. hble Servts

N. LONG

WM. DAVENPORT

N. CHRISTMAS

# CHACHERÉ TO TREVIÑO

*September 5, 1785*<sup>101</sup>

*To Mr. Don Phelipe Treviño at Natchez.*

CHICKASAWS, *September 5, 1785*

SIR AND FRIEND: I finally arrived at the Chickasaws on the 29th of last month and was rather well received by Mr. McIntock. I spent three days there, but as he is getting ready to go to Georgia, and is only waiting, I believe, for an answer from the ambassadors to set out, at least so far as I know, he has not been able to be as useful to me as he desired. At any rate so he said.

From there I went to see Mr. Turnbull, who, on the other hand, has served me as much as possible and with a zeal that I had no reason to expect.

The honest St. Germain put me to the harsh necessity of walking half the distance from the Yazooos here on foot. The two horses he sold me could not even carry their saddles and I had to load them on my own horse.

I am here in a nation where there are about 150 white men, most of whom are so honest that yesterday the Indians held a conference in which they decided to kick them all out except for ten whom they have chosen as traders. As a consequence they assembled them all and told them that the nation, having considered the reasons which might have caused so many white men to have come among them lately, decided that their bad conduct was the only possible reason for it, and that they were only staying among the Indians to escape their just punishment. The Indians said that, since they did not intend their nation to become a nest of thieves, they gave them eight days to withdraw, and that, if after that time they were found in their territory, they felt they would be justified in dealing

<sup>101</sup> BL, (French).

harshly with them. They said that they could settle on the Tombigbee River (this river flows from here to Mobile). I think that they will seek refuge among the Choctaws unless they are prevented, for this is the idea of most of them.

The bearer of this letter is an Indian named Cambellson, who, when Talecolé came to Natchez, sold him a Negro for the sum of 400 piastres *gourdes*. He has the aforesaid Talecolé's note in the best form possible as it was impossible for him to mortgage the Negro regularly; but since it is their custom that the buyer cannot sell Negroes unless they are fully paid for, he thinks that he has first claim over all the other creditors of Sr. Talecolé. The bearer is a half-breed who is very influential among the other savages of his nation and he is largely responsible for the decision they have made. I assured him that, if he dealt justly with the Spaniards, they would see to it that he also got justice. The whole nation seems to be in favor of the Spaniards. I leave tomorrow for Cumberland, from which I want to write to you. My best regards to Minor and the Doctor and tell them to say a prayer for me since I am in the home of the infidels almost without money. I wish you good health and I hope to see you again soon, but I shall return on a wooden horse.

I have the honor of being with all possible friendship, your most humble and obedient,

CHACHERÉ (Rubric)

To Monsieur P<sup>H</sup> TREVIÑO, lieutenant colonel at Nachez.

GREEN TO BLEDSOE

*September 10, 1785*<sup>102</sup>

CHICKESAW, *10th of Sept. 1785*

DEAR SIR: This you will Receive by the hand of Mr. Coyle which is to inform you that the Spaniards will not give up the garrison and that they have since I Demanded it have Reinforced it and is daly so doing and sayes that thare clame is as far as as the tennesee if not further and has sent one Sasserer a french man under protence of claming a negro of Elijah Reith. But his Busnes is a spey to see the strength of that place and Cane Tuck and all the weston settlements and as for his cerrickter he he is nothing but a tool and a Spey Even at the Natches and was one of the grates Enemies that the good peopel had thare tho but few new it and now if he is admited to pass he has money sent by him from goverment to purchas flower for the garrison and has Deluded that Inosent fool John Jack with him who was known formely to be american so

<sup>102</sup> BL, (English).

that if he is admited to pass I expect it will be the braking up of that settlement for the Spanards is a Drawin the Intrust of the Indens from us and has admitted Turnbull and others to bring goods to Mobeal and pencecola whare thare ships is to Land thare goods which comes under the Spanish trade . . . and has by the influence of the Creeks Stopt ower trade that way and even sent after our peopel that came from Georgia as Commisheners to have them Murderd but mist them and I am Informed that it was the Creeks that did the mistch about Cumberland and Canetuck this spring.

Please to inform government thare is all the appearince of ware this way for they are Repairing all thare garrisons and Bulding of New ons and forses from Deffrant parts are Daly ariving at pencecoly and orlence Therefore I think it is time for the americans to Look about them and if the natches is not gave up or taken our weston Cuntery is nothing therefore I hope that every american will not suffer a few inicrochen Tyrents to take the most valuable places in this new world I am Dear Sir.

Your most sencear frind and Hble Sarvent

THOS GREEN

N. B. I shuld a sent aman on purpas to you about that man if this oppertunity had not offered as all the Commisheners thinks he aught to be stopt when they heard his busness T G

Excus bad Righting as I have Lost my spect.

[Addressed:]

For Col<sup>l</sup>. Bledso at Cumberland

This—

Faverd by Mr. Coyle.

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ

*October 12, 1785*<sup>103</sup>

No. 86

MY DEAR SIR: I enclose to Your Lordship the original of a letter which I have just received from Don Louis Chacheré, written from the Chickasaw nation on the date of the fifth of last September to the half-breed Campbell. The latter brought it to me, accompanied by the medal chief, Nataé Mashtabe. I shall have him given a small present, and at the same time I shall cause him to be paid a note for four hundred pesos which he holds against the heirs of one named Albertson since by chance there happen to be on hand sufficient funds for it. Judging by what Chacheré says of the white vagabonds in this village, Your Lordship may be certain that the number of five



hundred, which Don Nicolas Long told me there were in the various villages of the Chickasaw and Choctaw is not exaggerated. This I believe because of information given to me by many other persons.

God keep Your Lordship many years, as I desire.

FORT PANMURE, NATCHEZ, *October 12, 1785.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive servant and obedient subject,

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. BOULIGNY (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

LONG, DAVENPORT AND CHRISTMAS TO MIRÓ

*October 13, 1785*<sup>104</sup>

AMITY HALL 13th October 1785.

SIR: We have had the honour of your favour wrote in Orleans the 7<sup>th</sup>. September ultimo, the purport of which (so far as respects our acting in the authority of our commissions prior to the settlement of the present territorial contention) we conceived to be fully answered in the part of our instructions furnished Col. Boulligny; which we suppose to have been transmitted your excellency. We have no inclination, nor are we authorized (though never so desirous) to discharge the function of our offices untill that matter be finally adjusted.—

We were well acquainted with his Majesty's agents being gone to the Continental Congress on the affairs of this river and conjectured from the length of time that he hath been gone, that your excellency had received dispatches on that business, before this present period, from which you would be authorized to give a decisive answer to the subject on which we have said much already, and untill we are honored with it our opinions must differ greatly with your excellency's in respect to our having, or not having, business in the district; considering ourselves authorized to remain untill finally answered— But from an earnest wish of giving every imaginable quietude to the Gentleman who commands this Garrison, at the same time impressed with the profoundest respect for your excellency, and tenacious of doing any thing that would create your displeasure, we assure you it is not our intention to say anything to the vassals of his Majesty on the point, in contest that may eventually be productive of ill consequence to the government.

We are very confident that a Captain General or Viceroy has not authority to deliver up a country which may be under his command unless by special directions from his Sovereign but are of opinion that they are authorized to conform to the Articles of a solemn treaty ratified by their Sovereign unless particularly ordered to the con-

<sup>104</sup> BL, (English).

trary.— It is by the definitive treaty of amity and peace that the honorable Legislature of Georgia conceived themselves warranted in the present demand; and to us it is strange that a proceeding founded on such just principals should be construed into a pretext (as your excellency is pleased to term it) for a rupture, so far were the Assembly of Georgia from desiring this, that in those very papers furnished you, copies of our authority, we were forbid doing any thing (contrary to the right of the State) that may eventually occasion a rupture.— We will not presume to say in what light the United States will consider the making of fortifications within their boundaries neither do we say that they will not quietly submit to so valuable a member being lopped off from their general territory, but our opinion is otherwise, and we assure your excellency our steadfast belief is that the State of Georgia will by no means consent to disburse the expenses you mention are likely to be charged them.

We have the honor to be Sir with great esteem and respect your excellency's Obt. humbl. servts.

N. LONG JR.

WM. DAVENPORT

N. CHRISTMAS

DON STEPHEN MIRO GOVT.

#### ORDERS IN REGARD TO SALE OF LIQUOR

*October 14, 1785* <sup>105</sup>

Don Estevan Miró, Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of Infantry of Louisiana, and Governor General *ad interim* of this Province, etc. . . .

For the purpose of remedying the disorders and harm caused in the homes by the coasters that, under the specious pretext of selling goods, furnish liquor to the Negro slaves, we declare the following:

1° The said coasters are forbidden to sell to the slaves on the banks of the river, and especially to enter their huts without the express permission of the master.

2° The said coasters are even more strictly forbidden to sell liquor at retail in any place whatsoever. That is why the permission given by the masters of the homes must not extend to allowing the retail sale of liquor on parts of the river coast where liquor shops are established.

3° All the inhabitants are authorized to demand to see the passport of the coasters who shall present themselves to sell goods on their property. It is well understood that, in order to avoid the least equivocation, there will be expressed in the passport the permission to sell rum, or liquor, which is only given for wholesale purposes.

<sup>105</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 3 (French).

4° Whoever shall violate this ordinance is to be arrested by the master of the establishment where he happened to make sales without permission, or to carry liquor not stated in the license. In this case he shall be taken to the city at his cost.

And so that none may remain in ignorance we have commanded and do command that these presents be read, proclaimed, and posted at all the customary locations and places of this city.

Given at our government mansion at NEW ORLEANS, *October 14, 1785.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

CHACHERÉ TO [BOULIGNY]

*November 7, 1785* <sup>106</sup>

SIR: I left the Chickasaws the 8th of this month, after I had received from Mr. Turnbull an extremely fine reception. I continued my journey to the settlements of Cumberland without any other event except the loss of two horses which the savages stole from me on the Tennessee River. After traveling for eleven days we arrived at Mr. Robertson's house. I did not see him, as he had left with six or seven others to go to choose and mark some lands at Ecors à Margot, or as they call it, the Chickasaw Bluffs. This place is one of the best locations on the Mississippi. The land is very rich, very well-wooded, and the waters are excellent and in sufficient quantity for a considerable settlement which the Americans intend to place there, despite the fact that the Chickasaw savages tell them daily that they will oppose it. It is even believed at Cumberland that this party which has left will not come back. These bluffs are about seventy leagues from the Arkansas River and on the other bank.

As I was bringing a letter for Mr. Robertson, I asked his wife to be so good as to open it and read it to me which she did when she saw that it related entirely to myself. I left the next day to visit the two other chiefs. I went to the town, where I had hardly arrived when I received visitors at the house of Mr. Clark, a business man of that place with whom I had my lodgings. Mr. Bledsoe, one of them, spoke, and after the customary civilities, asked me what reasons had prompted me to undertake so long and trying a journey in such a harsh season. I satisfied his curiosity. He told me, moreover, that they had taken this step at the request of the inhabitants who, they said, feared that I was a spy sent by the Spanish government. They, as chiefs, had been sent to find out about it. I called his attention to the fact that the two nations were at peace and that I even believed that there was no apparent possibility of war between them

<sup>106</sup> BL, (French).

in the near future, and that it seemed to me that anybody was free to travel anywhere at all without any special motive except his own curiosity. He did not seem to agree with me entirely, without, however, disagreeing openly. He stated, among other things, that the place from which I came was under discussion; that the Mississippi River was not open, etc. I disagreed with him, and he appeared to seem satisfied and promised me his help in case I should need it.

I spent at Cumberland as much time as I thought necessary to learn all about this place, its habits, and ways of living. On the 11th day as I was getting ready to leave for the Falls, there arrived two men from the nations. I accidentally struck up an acquaintance with one of them. He told me that he had letters sent by the commissioners of Georgia to the chiefs of Cumberland. Fully persuaded that they were directed against me, I proposed to him to show them to me, which he did, as one of them was torn. I saw that I was justified in believing that they denounced me as a spy. Knowing how important it was for me to intercept these letters, I adopted the means that I thought best to attain this end, and, with much trouble, I secured them for the sum of 200 piasters. For fear that they would send others, I cut my journey short right there and got on a little barge to go down the river, since the land roads were closed to me. The data which I am furnishing you herein, with the exception of Cumberland, which I have seen myself, I have received from people whom I believe to be well-informed. I merely repeat what they say. The best I can do is to assure you that I have been very careful to get the best possible information.

Cumberland is on the Shawnee River, and is commonly known by the name of the settlement. There are there about four thousand souls, one fourth of whom possess arms and are supplied with rifles which they handle very expertly, since most of them are hunters. The fur trade is the most important branch of their commerce. Furthermore, since they, like all the others of whom I speak, have been obliged to use force in order to settle on these lands which the savages have abandoned, their manner of life is very harsh. They are generally tall, well-proportioned and robust, like all the northern races. The climate is a little colder than at Natchez. All they cultivate is tobacco and corn. The former article is made into rolls which they send to Illinois and for which they receive in return beverages and edibles. This branch of their trade is not considerable, but since the land is favorable to the cultivation of this plant they would raise it on a large scale if they had a market for it. This causes them to have a very strong desire to have control of the river, which they believe they are sure to have, since they feel that they will soon be the possessors of Natchez. They are expecting this spring a hundred

or a hundred and fifty families. When any inhabitants want to settle, five or six families get together and make an enclosure only large enough to contain those cabins necessary to house them, and they cultivate a field of corn, etc., on a community basis. Ordinarily they seek lands three or four miles from the last house in order to have pasturage for their cattle. Most of them make the cloth with which they dress. The men's dress consists for the most part of skins. As for the women, they wear clothes made of cotton or hemp which they grow. They also receive some of their merchandise from the Falls.

The Cumberland River flows into the Ohio River about two hundred miles from the city which they have begun, and which is at present rather negligible. This city has great possibilities because of its location and because the river which flows by it can be navigated by the largest vessels when it is flooded. The waters usually begin to rise in November and remain high until about March. Even in the low water, and despite the rapids, boats with the capacity of ten hogsheads can still pass, but with difficulty. There is no artillery except two guns, and two pieces of four, that are not mounted. Between this river and the Chickasaws there is another one called Cherokee, which is navigable for three hundred leagues in high water, but which in low water is almost impracticable on account of shallows about thirty miles in length which are called Muscle Shoals. At the head of this river there is a branch called Holston that gives its name to a settlement which, according to several persons, is at least as important as Kentucky. The latter is a settlement between Cumberland and the Falls, where there are about twenty-five or thirty thousand inhabitants. Wheat is grown there but in small quantities, the land being too new for this crop, just as at Cumberland. Furthermore, they grow tobacco, corn, hemp, and cotton there. Whatever is not consumed by them is exported to the Falls, from where they also receive goods for their needs.

The Falls is a settlement on the Ohio River which, on account of the commerce it has with the aforesaid places, is or at least should be, relatively more important. It has the advantage that it gets its goods from Fort Pitt by water, which causes the merchandise to be as cheap as in town. There is a fort surrounded by a stockade. It has some pieces of six and a garrison of about thirty men.

Fort Pitt is the most considerable of all the settlements of which I have spoken, being the fountain-head from which the others draw, and the gathering place of their richest products. Besides it is advantageously located at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, which at this place take the name of Ohio River. On the banks of these two rivers there is much wheat grown, which is sent to Fort Pitt. There is a regularly built fort whose sides are washed

by the two rivers. Its batteries consist of pieces of twelve at least, and it has a garrison of five hundred men. There are in the arsenal two guns of twenty-four, which they say were brought some time ago to be mounted on a galley which General Clark had built to fight the savages, and which still exists, I do not know in what state. I have been assured that it has never been used. The commander of these parts is General Clark, who is now attending the Congress. I am assured that he is raising troops who are engaging themselves for twenty-one years [*sic*] for the supposed purpose of silencing or even expelling the savages of the Ohio River and reinforcing the garrisons of the last two places, and by this means assisting the settlements that they wish to make on this same river. It is a fact that the savages have again lately committed some murders in this place. The goods at Fort Pitt are cheaper than in the city, although they get them from Philadelphia, which is about one hundred and twenty leagues from there, and from Detroit. I deem it unnecessary to tell you about Post Vincennes which is on the Wabash River, and from which you receive news daily. I have already had the honor of stating to you that, with the exception of Cumberland, I cannot say anything for certain, since I was unable to go to these other places myself.

I enclose the map of the entire Ohio River on a large scale, and a letter from Mr. Green which I have intercepted, as I have told you above. I have the honor of being, with respect, Sir, your most humble servant,

CHACHERÉ (Rubric)

NATCHEZ, 7th of November 1785.

FAVRE TO [BOULIGNY]

November 8, 1785<sup>107</sup>

I learned from Taskaopa in the presence of Nanoulmastabé that Monsieur Jorge, a trader in the village of Ousapalchito for Monsieur Maxent, had told him that he has heard from Naquisabé, chief with a small English medal, that Mr. Fraisiere, trader at Yazoo in the Large Part, had assured him and the English chief Frantimastabé, that the stores established in Mobile belonged to Sieur Tournéboul. He also said that all the English, who had formerly been in the different villages of the nation, were going to come back and chase out the French and Spaniards who were there. Mr. Fraisiere stated that he was a good Englishman who did not want to do as the French and Spanish traders and steal their horses. He said that he would take their pelts for two, three, or four times as much, that this boat was sent ahead, and that the chiefs and party were

<sup>107</sup> BL, (French).

following. He also asserted that the Spaniards did not know how to do anything and they were not men. I affirm that I have written exactly what I heard from the Indians.

AT THE CHOCTAW, *November 8, 1785.*

FAVRE (Rubric)

BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ

*November 13, 1785*<sup>108</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Don Louis Chacheré, whose mission had been to spy upon the happenings along the Ohio River, arrived at this fort on the 5th of the present month. He left Cumberland hastily because of a letter he succeeded in getting which was written by Thomas Green to the principal men of the Cumberland denouncing the said Chacheré as a suspicious person. Your Lordship will find enclosed the letter he has written to me advising me of the observations made on his trip, together with the original of Green's letter, a map of the Ohio River, and some newspapers from North Carolina, which will enable Your Lordship to see the manner of thinking of those people, and the disturbances that occur among them.

His quick return, as he says, has not permitted him to acquire more ample information. He is definite in that Robertson has gone to mark out settlements in the Ecores à Margot, seventy leagues above Arkansas, which are to be occupied, one part by the families of Cumberland and the other by families of Kentucky. Chacheré states that the settlements of the Ohio and the rivers which flow into it are already considerable and become more numerous every day. From the provinces of the north of America many persons are carried through Lakes Erie and Ontario as far as the post of Detroit. From Philadelphia and the provinces of the South many people emigrate to the establishments of Fort Pitt, Holston, Kentucky, Cumberland, and other small places. In Cumberland they are awaiting about one hundred and fifty families. Chacheré reports that there are no evidences that for the present any expedition whatever is being formed, but as their minds are already disposed toward it, they require little encouragement. The attached documents will make clear to Your Lordship how much credence may be given to these reports by combining them with the news which may come from Philadelphia and other places.

May God preserve Your Lordship the many years which I desire.

FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *November 13, 1785.*

Your most attentive servant and obedient subject kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*November 25, 1785*<sup>109</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: At the beginning of this last spring a cleric arrived in the American district who said his name was Mr. Saint Pierre. He came by way of the Ohio River with an order from Congress, to take possession of the parishes in that district. After this was effected, he has remained, and at the present moment he is in the town of Kaskaskia. During this period, according to the information which has been given to me, he has had several disputes with different individuals in that town. This has caused him considerable annoyance, and he has written me the enclosed letter which I am sending to Your Lordship, in which he solicits a pass to the town of Ste. Geneviève to serve that parish with the same salary and under the conditions which His Majesty has accorded to the other priests in the parishes of this colony. As I do not believe myself authorized to grant him this favor I have answered him, as Your Lordship will note in the enclosed letter, that he should communicate with Your Lordship in order to accomplish what he desires.

As Your Lordship knows, the town of Ste. Geneviève is without any ecclesiastical aid. Consequently this priest since his arrival has managed upon several days to go from Kaskaskia and say Mass for the people of Ste. Geneviève and to administer the other Sacraments when those inhabitants have need thereof and have duly requested it of him. This has been done under an arrangement made by him with Father Bernardo, priest of this parish. The latter has given me to understand that it would be ill-advised to permit him to go to the town of St. Geneviève and that Your Lordship has not the authority to do this. Because of all this I believe I should upon this same occasion write to you about it so that you will be informed.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 25, 1785.*

Your attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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<sup>109</sup> BL.



## CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*December 4, 1785*<sup>110</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Since the beginning of this last spring, it has been rumored in all these settlements, both in the American district and in this, that a big collar has been sent to all the Indian nations to the end, it is said, of uniting them all to war upon the Spaniards, French, and Americans to see whether they can destroy them or drive them from all these continents. This collar comes from the Abenaki and Chickasaw nations.

In the month of August last, Leturno, the principal chief of the Ottawa nation, came to see me in this town. He showed unusual affection for our nation, and he came expressly to give me the news of the said collar. He stated that he did not know precisely what it meant, nor the reason which prompted its circulation, because it had not been presented either to him or to any one of his nation, but that he would endeavor to spare no effort to ascertain the facts. Fifteen days later Lachez, the principal chief of the Mascouten nation, came to this town and told me that he himself had been the one who had received the aforesaid collar from a party of the Abenakis who had been in his nation with the purpose of making known throughout the other villages that they should all join forces in case that the whites should attempt any attack. They are all in readiness to defend themselves, and Lachez even went further to say that the English governor of Detroit had told him not to bury the tomahawk very deep, which is equivalent to saying that they should keep themselves in readiness for an attack.

Other Indians of importance from different nations who have been to see me, have told me the same thing. Recently I have learned that the Indians of the Peoria nation who have been this summer at the fort of Arkansas had said that a party from the Chickasaw nation had been there, and that in the council which they had with the nation of that post, the Chickasaws proposed to join them in an attack against the Spaniards this next spring. They stated that, if they did not do so, they would treat them in the same way as they should treat the Spaniards. To this demand, the Arkansas responded that they would never consent to it. I make known all this to Your Lordship so you may be advised.

May God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *December 4, 1785.*

Your affectionate servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>110</sup> BL.

## BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ

*December 12, 1785*<sup>111</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: The person named Robert Tompson, half-breed Indian of the Chickasaw nation, has called upon me, bringing a request from his nation that the goings and comings of renegades be stopped. These people continually go to and come from his nation which suffers all sorts of injury and offense from them. They have been unable to free themselves, notwithstanding the attempt made by the greater number of them to escape this annoyance by leaving this territory. This Indian also manifested to me the regret that his nation feels at finding themselves surrounded by the Americans who, either through their hunting or their settlements, are encroaching upon them and making it impossible for them to make their living from the chase as they have done up to now.

He told me that the principal chiefs of his nation propose to come and speak with me on this matter, if they learn that I have received him amicably. I have treated him with great friendship, and have informed him to tell his chiefs and assure them that they would find in Your Lordship, as head of all the province, one who would offer the greatest protection and all means and facilities for everything they demanded if it were just and reasonable.

As this Indian is well-educated and speaks English perfectly I have endeavored to be most courteous and have made him a small gift which, in the present circumstances, I have deemed useful in order completely to win over the affection of his nation. I have questioned him as to whether he had any information of the settlement which the Americans wished to establish on the Ecores à Margot. He answered that he had heard talk of it but knew nothing positively. He has also told me that the chiefs of his nation, as well as the Choctaws and Creeks, had received a letter from General Washington asking them to appear at the new city of Augusta in Georgia in order to have a conference with them in the name of Congress. He put several questions to me about the lands which lie between the Ouachita and the Arkansas rivers which have led me to believe that his nation is inclined to change its location.

I have requested him to ascertain whether or not the settlement of the Ecores à Margot had been effected, and to give me the information. I promised that he would be rewarded for his labor. I also requested that he endeavor to acquire news of Cumberland and the Falls, particularly if there were rumors of war or any preparatory steps being taken. He promised to come and give me the exact information. He returned with the party of Davenport.

I am not able to judge certainly what credence is to be placed in the information given by this man because I have been informed that he was one of those who were in league with Colbert and who accompanied him in the attack and expedition against the boat of Mme. Cruzat; but, as the circumstances and manner of thinking of his nation is likely to be different today, it may well be that all he has told me is the truth, and that the idea of his nation is really to strengthen the ties of our friendship, and not leave their fate entirely to the discretion of the Americans.

May God preserve Your Lordship the many years that I desire.

FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *December 12, 1785.*

Your most attentive and obedient subject kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. BOULIGNY (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### A DESCRIPTION OF LOUISIANA

*December 12, 1785*<sup>112</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Under the date of the 12th of July last, Your Lordship enclosed to me a copy of a letter from Don Felipe de Neve, dated December 18, 1783. In it he asks me for information which will enlighten that commandancy-general concerning the Indian nations bordering those Interior Provinces, in order to proceed effectively in the operations and projects which His Majesty has ordered carried out. He believes that such information may be found in the archives of this capital and desires that the reports be accompanied by a map which may serve for his better understanding.

I regret that I am unable to satisfy completely the desires of Your Lordship with regard to the last point. When the French government delivered up this province it left no map in this office other than that of the course of the Mississippi, with the settlements which that nation made; but it fails to give any depth or description of the lands on either bank, particularly those to the west, which could give any knowledge of the nations that border upon the Interior Provinces.

Nevertheless, I shall give Your Lordship a detailed account according to local data and the information which I have been able to acquire during the time I have had the honor of governing this province.

The mouth of the Mississippi is situated at 29 degrees 7 minutes north latitude in this Gulf of Mexico; thirty-two leagues up the river on its eastern bank is New Orleans, capital of the province of Louisiana.

Sixty leagues further up on the western bank is found the Red

<sup>112</sup> BL.

River, by which one goes to Natchitoches, a district which borders upon the province of Texas. From the mouth of the Red River, the distance is not more than twelve leagues up to the mouth of the Ouachita, which by way of the former empties into the Mississippi. Between the Red River and the Ouachita are the Caddos, or Caudachos, Great and Small, the Yatasís, Adaes, Natchitoches, Rapidos, Pacaná, Alibamones, Choctaws, Ochanias, Biloxis, and several others of less importance in the lands of the Atakapas and Opelousas, which are the nations bordering immediately upon the aforementioned province of Texas on that side.

Continuing on the Mississippi from the mouth of the Red River, 180 leagues farther up we find the river of San Francisco de Arkansas on the western bank. Twelve leagues up this river is the fort of Carlos III, between which and the Mississippi at various distances, is found the nation of the Arkansas divided into the three villages of Ogapás, Otouy, and Tulimas. Along the course of the aforesaid river, about one hundred leagues above, live the Little Osages, who are the only nation I know in this place bordering on the Kingdom of New Spain.

Ascending the Mississippi to its source there are no other settlements except those of Ste. Geneviève and St. Louis five hundred leagues from this capital, on the western bank and twenty leagues distant one from the other.

In St. Louis, by order of His Excellency the Conde de O'Reilly, annual presents are made to the Sioux, Great Osages, Iowas, Kansas, Panis, Omahas, Sacs, Octoctata, Otos, Little Osages, Missouris, Foxes, and Kaskaskias.

Farther up is the Missouri River. As it has its source in the mountains of the New Kingdom of Mexico, it becomes necessary for me to give a detailed account not only of its course but also of the rivers which flow into it. The Missouri is a large river which flows down from the northeast, one quarter to the east [*sic*] and empties into the Mississippi at a point five leagues above St. Louis, the principal Spanish settlement of Ylinoa, located at 40 degrees north latitude more or less. This river is extremely rapid and filled with shoals everywhere. Its navigation is dangerous for this reason, and because the logs which are caught in the aforementioned shoals make the current swifter and scarcely allow passage for a canoe at low water. Its channel changes every year.

Since commerce has been carried on along the Missouri no one has ever gone farther north than the river of the Sioux, about two hundred leagues from the mouth of the Missouri. Nevertheless, later information given by the Riis or Arikara Indians makes certain that two hundred leagues beyond their villages there is found a waterfall

of considerable size dropping from a high mountain, called by them "The Mountain which Sings," doubtless because of the noise the water makes.

Before going on, it is necessary to realize that the chain of mountains which extends from Santa Fé a little to the east and which goes to the province of Quivira, according to report, forms the high land between New Mexico and this region. Many of the rivers which have their sources east of these mountains empty into the Arkansas River, which has been spoken of above, but the greatest number flow into the Missouri. Those which have their sources to the west empty into the River of the North, or Brabo, which, as Your Lordship well knows, empties into the Gulf of Mexico. The Missouri cuts this chain of mountains to the north of the source of the aforesaid Brabo River turning toward the west, one quarter to the northwest, and according to all appearances, this is the place where it forms the cataract or cascade of which the Arikaras speak. Passing these mountains, it must run toward the other chain of mountains which extends between the Red River and the province of Teguayo.

The rivers to the east of this mountain, north of Teguayo, must empty into the Missouri, which, according to appearances, has its source here, because to the west of these mountains the Sea or the Bay of the West almost bathes their feet.

Two leagues from the mouth of the Missouri there is a place called Agua Fría. It is a rocky height nearly half a league wide on the right bank of the Missouri. It is probably two hundred feet high and in places has quite a gentle slope. On its top there is a meadow with lands good for establishing a settlement.

From Agua Fría up to Portage des Sioux is a distance of two leagues. At this portage there is a meadow about a league and a half wide and a quarter league from the left bank of the Missouri. It extends as far as the bank of the Mississippi and consists of good land suitable for cultivation. Two leagues from Portage des Sioux is a coal mine which could be worked at little cost. From the coal mine to Pointe Coupée on the left bank of the Missouri it is two more leagues.

From Pointe Coupée to the channel called by the French, La Pensée, the distance is reckoned as 17 leagues. At this place empties a river named the Loutre, navigable for canoes in the driest season up to thirty and forty leagues. Ten or twelve leagues beyond, at the end of the said distance, is the Haba River, which is fifty leagues from St. Louis. From the channel of La Pensée to the Gasconade River it is two leagues.

The Gasconade is a large river thirty leagues from the mouth of the Missouri and on its right bank. It is navigable at its lowest water

up to thirty leagues, and in high water to more than 120. Thirty leagues from its mouth it comes very near to the marsh on one of the branches of the Maramec, a river which empties into the Mississippi six leagues below St. Louis. It is reckoned as ten leagues from the Gasconade River to that of the Great Osages.

Forty leagues from the mouth of the Missouri on the right bank, is the river of the Great Osages, quite a large stream, which flows from the west, one quarter to the north-west. It is possible to go up this river to the village of the Great Osages situated 120 leagues from the Missouri; but high water is necessary for this, because when the water is low, one cannot go beyond the Niangá River which furnishes a large amount of water to that of the Great Osages. The current of the latter is very rapid as a result of a multitude of islands and falls found in it. The great number of rivers which empty into this one makes it subject to great floods. There are ninety-eight islands in it before it reaches its branch fifteen leagues below the village of the Great Osages. There the islands end.

Three leagues farther up the river from the Great Osages there is found on the left bank a small river called Cedar, an allusion to the presence there of this kind of tree, which commonly measures two or two and a half fathoms in circumference.

From the river of the Great Osages to that of La Mine it is reckoned as twenty leagues. This river is small, and is situated on the right bank of the Missouri. They call it river of the mine because of the many salty springs which run into it. From La Mine River to the Charatón it is eight leagues.

They give the name Charatón to two large rivers of the same size which empty into the Missouri on its left side. They are four *aranzadas* from one another and are very near the Des Moines which empties into the Mississippi eighty leagues above St. Louis, five hundred and eighty leagues distant from New Orleans. It is eight leagues from Charatón to Grand River.

The last named river flows a distance of nearly 300 leagues parallel to the Missouri, to thirty or forty leagues beyond the Arikaras. It approaches very near to the Des Moines River, since from the large island which is situated eighty leagues up this river it is only two days' march to the Grand River and two days more from here to the Missouri. From the Grand River to the Río de Cans, or Kansas, it is thirty leagues. The Kansas is 108 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, on its right bank. At high water one may go up the river to the village of the Republica or Pawnees whom the Indians call *Paniguacci*, or "eyes of the partridge." Then follows the river Nishabotna on the left side of the Missouri near the Des Moines River.

Ten leagues below the last named, one finds another small stream called "Weeping Water."

The Chato or Platte River follows. It is more than one-half league in width without being very navigable, and is one of the largest which empties into the Missouri and has its source in the mountains of New Mexico. According to what the Indians say, it has many large branches, but we do not know anything about it beyond the large island eighty leagues from its mouth.

Fifteen leagues from the Missouri on the right bank is the village of the Octotatas, and twelve leagues farther on is that of the Pawnees on the same side. Three leagues beyond the last named village on the left side, thirty leagues from its mouth, is the Río de Papas, or Wolf, where live the Wolf Indians, or Panimahas.

Thirty leagues up from the Chato River on the left side of the Missouri is the Sioux River. It is said that twenty leagues up this river is situated the quarry of reddish stone which the Indians use to make the pipes for their calumets. From the Sioux River to the Niobrara River, or "River that Runs," it is probably about one hundred leagues. This last river is about ninety leagues from the Arikaras. It is large without being navigable. It dries up in the summer but is very rapid in the spring because of the flood waters. This accounts for the Indians calling it "River that Runs." It flows down from the west, one-half to the northwest, and also has its source in the mountains of New Mexico. One league below its mouth and another from the Missouri there is a small river where the village of the Poncas is located. All this country between the Chato River and the Niobrara or Escarpado River is like meadow land and has sandy soil.

Forty-five leagues above the Niobrara River is the Little Missouri, which is nothing more than the first branch of the river of this name which flows to the west. It is not very navigable and has its source in the mountains of New Mexico. Comanches, or Toquibacos, live in its vicinity or at least have some small forts to which they retire.

From the Little Missouri to the first village of the Arikaras is ten leagues. From the villages of these Indians to the Niobrara River the country is excessively arid, almost without woods, full of sand dunes and small rocks. The landscape is the most disagreeable that can be imagined. All this vast country beginning with the Arkansas River up to the "Shore which Sings" is an immense prairie traversed and watered by the rivers named above. These prairies are bounded on the west by the mountains of New Mexico, on the east by the shores of the Mississippi, and the south by the river of San Francisco de Arcanzas. To the north their limits are unknown because the Indians who have furnished this information do not go beyond the "Shore which Sings."

In such a large extent of territory the climate cannot but be uneven, and the truth is that in no section is it found exactly as one would believe in consideration of its latitude. The vicinity of the lakes of Canada, the uncultivated land, and the immense plains do not offer the slightest obstacle to the north winds. This, added to other physical causes, makes these countries much colder than those of the same latitude in Europe. The healthfulness of its waters and the general excellence of its lands and meadows formed by nature, cause it to be covered with buffalo, goat, deer, buck, etc. The forests are filled with game and especially abound in all kinds of ducks, turkeys, pheasants, etc. The soil is suitable for the cultivation of flax, wheat, and hemp.

Having reported this, I pass on to mark out the different tribes of Indians which, as I have already mentioned, inhabit the banks of the Missouri or rivers which empty into it. The village of the Great Osages is situated 120 leagues in the interior on the river bearing their name. Two leagues from its mouth there is a large prairie on a sort of well-elevated natural platform. The Great Osages are the most numerous tribe of the Missouri, at least of those with whom we trade and may have from 400 to 450 men capable of bearing arms. Generally they are good hunters.

The village of the Little Osages, of which those who have settled upon the upper waters of the Arkansas River are a part, is situated eighty leagues from the mouth of the Missouri on its right bank, one league inland, in a large meadow on a hill which dominates it. They can place under arms 250 men who are skillful hunters. It is necessary to state in passing, that the wealth of the Indians of the Missouri consists in having large droves of horses which they take from the Laytanes, or Apaches, and from the frequent thefts that some nations make upon others. It is a matter for surprise that notwithstanding the great number of horses and mares which they have, their increase is entirely prevented because they load the mares too heavily and make them run too much.

The boundaries of the hunting grounds of the Little Osages extend from the river of La Mine to that of the Great Osages. Their game consists of deer, geese, bear, and mountain lion, beaver, and otter. The Missouris are located one league from the Little Osages and have their villages on the bank of the Missouri. They probably have about 120 men capable of bearing arms. They maintain peace with the Little Osages because of their proximity and with the nations on the upper Missouri in order to obtain horses. The territory occupied by the Missouris extends from La Mine River to the "Meadow of Fire," eight leagues below the Kansas River on both



sides of the Missouri. Their game is the same as that of the tribes previously mentioned.

The Kansas have their villages 140 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri on a very high bank two *aranzadas* from the shore of the river mentioned above. They have, in all probability, about 200 men who can bear arms, and undoubtedly they are the best hunters of the Missouri. They maintain peace with the Little Osages and the Missouris, but make war on the Pawnees in order to obtain horses. Their hunting lands are found extending up the Kansas River as far as the Nemaha River.

The Otos live fifteen leagues up the Chato River in a small wood in the center of a prairie, and they have about 900 men capable of bearing arms. The Otos are the only nation on the Missouri who have no necessity for trade or commerce with Ylinoa, because they are on the most friendly terms with the Iowas who live on the Des Moines River. This river may cause much injury to the upper Missouri and still greater to the inhabitants of New Mexico if the traders from the American district or the English continue to open up trails and commerce with the Otos by means of the Iowas. It is therefore well to know that the Otos hunt on the Grand River, which is two days' march from the Missouri, and that from the Grand River up to the large island which is in the Des Moines River, eighty leagues from its mouth, it requires only two days' journey. Therefore, as has been suggested above, the traders from the other district would not have more than two or three days of travel in order to find themselves in the hunting grounds of the Otos. In this case the traffic would be even more troublesome than on the upper Missouri because it would be able to attract the Panimahas nation, and the traders could more easily trade with the Iowas.

Whenever the Otos are at war with the Sioux, they prefer to trade with Ylinoa, and it is always to be feared that the English may enter into the villages of the Pawnees and the Otos as they did in 1773 and 1777. The extent of the hunting grounds of the Otos is from the great Nemaha River up to the Boyer River.

The Pawnees are located twenty-seven leagues from the Chato River, and consist of 400 men capable of bearing arms. Their hunting grounds are in the tongue of land which lies between their river and the Chato, and extend from their village to the river of San Francisco de Arcanzas.

The Panimahas live thirty leagues up the Río de Papas or Wolf River and consist of 350 men. Their hunting grounds extend from the left bank of the Chato River up to the Padós River which is a branch of the Papas.

The Indians of the Republica, or Pawnees, called *Paniguaccy* or

*ojos de perdiz*, live on the Kansas River 180 leagues from its mouth, and they have 220 men capable of bearing arms. It is necessary to observe in passing that, since all these tribes, or at least the greater number of them, live by the hunt, they are likely to divide themselves from time to time when they cannot find sufficient animals for the maintenance of their nation, and from the moment of the separation they become enemies.

The Panimahas are settled 280 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, and they hunt in the section of the land which lies between the Boyer River and their villages.

The Poncas have a village on the small river below the Niobrara River. They are a wandering tribe, naturally ferocious and cruel, killing without pity anyone they find on the road. Nevertheless, if they find themselves inferior in strength, they make friends with those they meet. In a word, although they number not more than eighty fighting men, they only preserve friendship with those whom necessity obliges them to treat as friends.

The seven villages of the Arikaras, or Riis, are situated along the Missouri nearly 400 leagues from its mouth. They have about 900 warriors and, though they occupy an extensive region, its dryness and barrenness fail to furnish the animals regular pasture, which accounts for their scarcity.

The Padós or Comanches were formerly the most numerous nation on the continent, but the wars which other nations have made upon them have destroyed them, so that today they form only four small groups. They wander from place to place constantly, and this saves them from the fury of the other nations who continually make war upon them. They number about 350 men who are very skillful with the arrow and in running.

The Laytanés, or wandering Apaches, who, like the Padós, are better known in those provinces than in this, live on the borders of New Mexico. They are considered the best warriors on the banks of the Missouri, and dominate all the neighboring nations. Although divided into various bands or parties, they live in perfect friendship.

The Sioux, who extend from the Des Moines River up to the source of the Mississippi, like the Laytanés, are the dominant nation on the left bank of the Missouri. In Ylinoá only those who trade on the Des Moines River are known. They are wanderers and live in different bands.

The Higados Duros, or Pitacarico, are settled along the Missouri beyond the Arickaras. They are numerous for they consist of seven villages of good size, but they are not known in Ylinoá except through

the reports of the Indians. This is the reason for not giving here the number of the Laytanés, Sioux, and Pitacaricos.

There may be some difference in the names of the Indian tribes and the rivers, but I give those which are known by the French who have been the masters of this province.

This is all the information which I can give to Your Lordship, and I shall be happy if this statement contributes to the ends which have prompted Your Lordship to ask it of me.

May God etc.

[Draft by Miró]

NEW ORLEANS, *December 12, 1785.*

SEÑOR DON JOSEF ANTONIO RENGEL, *Commandant of the Interior Provinces.*

LORTY FOR BOUGAU

*December 28, 1785*<sup>113</sup>

FROM LA FOURCHE, *December 28, 1785*

SIR: I take the liberty of writing to you through the Chief Wachéouahée, who has come here to see us and who has pleased us much by denying in full council several evil statements which some one from his nation had told us that you had made against us, the hunters and traders. You are not ignorant of the fact, Sir, that we are of the same country and that we are subject to the same master, and that as a consequence we must treat one another as brothers and not as enemies before the savages.

Mr. Bougau is an intelligent man who has chosen to come to trade here and not to wage war, and he has orders to restrain the nations living on this river, as well as the hunters.

I have the honor of being your most humble and most obedient servant,

CH<sup>E</sup>. LORTY for MR. BOUGAU

As commandant and lieutenant governor of these settlements of Ylinueses, I certify that the preceding letter is an exact copy of the original which was presented to me by Don Benito Vasquez; and in order that it may be recorded for necessary purposes, I issue the present paper at St. Louis of Ylinueses, on the 22nd day of the month of June of the year 1787.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

<sup>113</sup> BL, (French).

GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*January 22, 1786*<sup>114</sup>

From the copies sent me by Your Lordship in your letter, No. 246 of November 10, last, of a letter recently received by you from Don Nicholas Long, Don William Davenport, and Don Nathaniel Christmas, and of Your Lordship's reply, I have taken note of the reason why you warned them to leave the territory of all that province within one month.

I approve of Your Lordship's decision and also suppose that, if they had failed to comply therewith from pure perversity, Your Lordship would have put into execution what I ordered you under date of September 22, last year.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

MEXICO, *January 22, 1786.*

EL CONDE DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

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<sup>114</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 149-1.

REPORT ON ACADIAN IMMIGRANTS WHO CAME TO LOUISIANA FROM FRANCE IN 1786<sup>115</sup>

Statement showing the number of Acadian families and individuals who embarked at the port of Nantes in the year 1785 at the order of His Majesty for the purpose of increasing the population of Louisiana; the vessels which brought them; the number of births and deaths on the voyage; the added number of births, deaths and desertions in Louisiana; marriages contracted there; and places where they have settled in compliance with the orders of Señor Don Martín Navarro, Intendant General of this province, to wit:

## DESTINATIONS

No. of Families embarked in France	No. of Persons embarked in France	Vessels which brought them	Born in this voyage	Died in this voyage	Total first landed	Total persons landed	Born in Louisiana	Added in Louisiana	Marriages contracted	Deaths after arrival	Desertions after arrival	Nueva Galvez	Coast of Cananose	Bayou de la Fourche	Manchac Coast	Baton Rouge Coast	Bayou de Ecorse	Atakapas and Opelousas	Present Total of families and Individuals	New Orleans									
34	150	Fri. Bon Papa...	---	1	36	155	3	9	---	9	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
72	267	Fri. La Bergerie...	---	6	73	268	5	5	4	9	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
45	177	Fri. El Baume...	7	2	47	175	1	3	3	4	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
77	323	Fri. St. Remy...	3	15	81	311	5	13	5	16	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
68	295	Fri. La Amistad...	7	6	68	296	3	24	17	---	2	17	54	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
51	308	Fri. La Villa de Arangel...	---	4	53	304	2	8	7	11	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---								
28	78	Bri. La Carolina...	---	1	28	77	3	9	2	1	1	0	20	1	3	18	54	---	---	---	---								
375	1574		17	35	380	1550	22	71	38	50	12	23	75	1	3	251	854	38	150	42	147	56	278	17	67	429	1587	1	7

NOTE: That the differences to be noted between the number of families embarked in France and the number landed here, and between the latter and the total at present is due in the first case to the fact that some persons have separated from their respective families and formed their own at the time of the census; and in the second, the same thing has occurred with all those who have married, and some others who subsequently separated from their families, New Orleans ----- of ----- 1786.

<sup>115</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 604-1.

MIRÓ TO CRUZAT

*March 5, 1786*<sup>116</sup>*Confidential.*

No. 34.

*Answered.*

I desire to calm the fears intimated by Your Lordship in your official letter number 59, in regard to the collar which is going about among all the Indian nations, with the idea, so they say, of getting them all to make war on the Spaniards, French, and Americans. In consideration of this, with all else expressed by Your Lordship, I enclose you a copy of the account of the meeting held by the Indian tribes, Talapoosa, Cherokee, and Chickasaw, who continue firm in their friendship to us, which they prefer to that of the Americans against whom they are forming a powerful league. It is imperative to encourage this in order to establish for ourselves a natural barrier. I trust that Your Lordship, with your accustomed zeal, will lend your aid to this, in view of the fact that in the congresses which took place in Pensacola and Mobile, I can flatter myself that I established the most solid foundations for the purpose of separating these nations from the American side although the inconstancy and unreliability of every Indian is such as not to give us entire security.

I caution you to observe the greatest secrecy in order not to give the slightest cause for suspicion to our neighbors; but you should not lose sight for one moment of the necessity of drawing the nations more and more to our friendship.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 5, 1786.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Señor DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

CRUZAT TO VASQUEZ

*March 10, 1786*<sup>117</sup>

Don Estevan Miró, provisional governor general of this province, under date of the 25th of May in the year 1785, communicates to me the following:

"Two influential Osages of the section of this nation which has settled on the upper waters of the Arkansas River have presented themselves in this town. Notwithstanding what you have made known to me regarding the evil results experienced in drawing the nation away from the district of Ylinueses, they have already settled there and I have hopes that the establishment of this tribe in the region bordering the Arkansas may contribute to the security and tranquility

<sup>116</sup> BL.<sup>117</sup> BL.

of the hunters by the peace which they have made with the Great Caddos in my presence. Therefore, it is very much to the interest of the King that Your Lordship, far from opposing in any manner these arrangements, should rather sustain and support them in the councils held with the nations, and also in any measure which you may take. You should always bear in mind that the Indian nations are free and may settle in any place they choose or in which they find the greatest facilities."

"To the end of further cementing peace, I have made two of the Great Osage nation, from the Arkansas region, chiefs of the small medal, recommending to them very urgently the preservation of friendship and amicable relations with all the nations. I advise you of this so that you may be thoroughly cognizant and may know how to act."

I give this information to Your Lordship so that, getting together the chiefs and headmen of that nation, you may explain to them the dispositions of the governor, and so that, as far as Your Lordship is concerned, you may endeavor to act so that the wishes of Governor Miró in this matter may be carried out.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *March 10, 1786.*

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BENITO VASQUEZ.

MIRÓ TO CRUZAT

*March 24, 1786* <sup>118</sup>

No. 28.

With the purpose of freeing the Kadohadacho, Pawnee, and other tribes of the provinces of Texas from the hostile incursions of the Osage, I ordered the commandant of Arkansas that, when they present themselves, he should manifest to them my desire that peace be effected with the aforesaid nations, and endeavor to attract the chief persons with some favor or present. Therefore, he conferred the small medal on one of the most influential of them, and induced two others to come down to this capital in order to hear my ideas on the matter. This was effected in the month of May of last year. At the same time Tenihuan, the great chief of the Caddo, came down. I held a public conference with them in the presence of all the officers of the garrison and gave to the act the greatest formality.

I opened my speech by endeavoring to persuade both sides to make peace. The Osage immediately agreed, but the Caddo at the beginning was not so inclined. In order to convince him, I availed

myself of all the arguments which I believed conducive to this end, in which I was aided by one of the Osage. He expressed with great fervor his desire to maintain in the future a permanent peace. The Caddo arose and with a demonstration particularly adapted to his temperament extended his hand to the Osage, saying that he had torn from his heart all the hate which he held against them, and they then embraced. It was later arranged that in this peace should be included not only the Caddo, but likewise the Pawnee and other nations of New Spain. The two Osage likewise promised me to change their manner of living entirely and solicited that they might settle on the upper waters of the St. Francis River of Arkansas, 100 leagues from our fort of Carlos III, and that there should be provided a trader to the end that, when they were occupied in the hunt, they would have a buyer for their furs. I conceded both things, decorating them both with the small medal. A merchant from this city went up with them, taking with him sixteen to twenty thousand pesos worth of goods.

Notwithstanding these wise measures, the commandant of Natchitoches, Don Pedro Rousseau, advises me, and his information finds confirmation in Arkansas, that there has been a sharp encounter between the Caddo Indians and a band of the Little Osage from the settlements on the Arkansas River. The former, returning from the hunt with their horses and many furs, were attacked by a numerous party of the second nation. The combat became violent and lasted, so they say, from morning until late at night when it came to an end because the Caddos found themselves without any ammunition and with two dead and two wounded. As a result of this they took advantage of the darkness in order to make their escape. The Kichai have been equally pillaged by the aforesaid Osage and have lost four men, their horses, and the product of their hunt, not being able to kill more than one of the enemy.

Such an occurrence, after an established peace confirmed in my presence with so many evidences of friendship, will require the most serious demonstrations in order to make its perfidy known to this barbarous nation; but, desiring to reconcile the good of the traders with the dignity of the government, for my part I am going to issue precise instructions which will deny to the Little Osage settled on the Arkansas River any intercourse whatever, and I shall cause the merchant who went there with my passport to withdraw from the nation. I suggest to Your Lordship that you bend every effort in the councils which you may have with the Great Osage and Little Osage of that district to make the Arkansas band recognize their lack of faith, and render complete satisfaction. You should make every effort to induce them to live in peace with the nations of the Interior



Provinces, for they are all subjects of the same King. Your Lordship may be able to find there some means of making this nation understand my anger towards the Great Osage, inducing these to call together the Little Osage and compel them to make good the word of peace given. In this I trust Your Lordship will employ all your zeal and attention.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 24, 1786.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

FAVROT TO MIRÓ

*May 30, 1786* <sup>119</sup>

MY COLONEL: I am informing you that right at this moment Monsieur Tugeaut has come in to tell me that the great chief of the Chickasaws, who is still here, is postponing his departure to wait for the boat which is to transport Monsieur Maidre's furs. The afore-said chief has told Macurtin that he could well see why the Spaniards would refuse the Americans admission to his people in order to give them merchandise, because he had just learned that here furs had no value. The chief said that the goods here were very expensive and that there was a white man, an American, who had come from Natchez to him to ask for lands and offer to him all the goods he might want, on behalf of the Americans, provided he accepted the treaty which the insurgents offered to make with him. The chief stated that as soon as they arrived he would send to Natchez for the deputies and would accept all the offers made to him.

I am warning you of this. Take precautions in order to expose the spies who are in the district of Natchez.

I am, with deepest respect, my Colonel, your most humble and obedient servant,

FAVROT (Rubric)

MOBILE, *May 30, 1786.*

TO MONSIEUR DE MIRÓ.

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*July 19, 1786* <sup>120</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Together with the document from Your Lordship of the 4th of last March, there is enclosed a copy of the personal letter which Your Lordship had just received from the excellent Conde de Gálvez, viceroy and captain general of these provinces.

<sup>119</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>120</sup> BL.

Instructed by its contents and by the aforesaid confidential document of Your Lordship, I shall endeavor always to be ready and shall observe the greatest precautionary measures with the Americans, not failing in my accustomed courtesy toward them in all matters not opposed to the better service of the King. Your Lordship may rest assured that I shall do all in my power to acquire the friendship of the Indians, both of those who are our allies and of those who are not. I shall likewise endeavor not to omit any diligence to learn of the movements of the Americans who are our neighbors here, as well as of those settled on the Ohio and other surrounding sites, and I shall give to Your Lordship requisite and prompt information on all matters which you have entrusted to me. Relative to the attack against Natchez, I shall not fail to make it known to the commandant of that post whenever I shall have definite news thereof.

The Indian nations of the American side are so decidedly displeased and irritated against the Americans, that daily we are receiving news that they kill them wherever they meet them. About a month ago in the town of Kaskaskia a party of Indians of the Potawatomi nation killed two people at their very door and scalped them as is their custom. Yesterday the scribe or notary of the town of Cahokia, which is opposite this, was in this town and he told me that on that very night at a place they called Bellefontaine, five leagues distant from the aforesaid town, they had killed seven Americans who were settled there. The blow was dealt by a party from the Miami nation living in that district. So not a day passes without news of these attacks. The most curious thing is that the blame is placed on the English royalists who, they say, incite them to do it. I am one of those of the same belief, particularly since receiving the news that the aforesaid royalists are strongly fortifying themselves in Michillimackinac and Detroit, having increased the two garrisons by more than three hundred men each. The English state that the Americans have not kept their promise given in the treaty of peace, and that consequently neither are they obliged to comply with their promise to deliver up to them the two aforesaid posts. I advise Your Lordship of all this so you may be informed fully.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *July 19, 1786.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## LE GRAS TO CLARK

*July 22, 1786*<sup>121</sup>

TO GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AT THE FALLS.

SIR: It is for the purpose of giving you full information as to what has taken place here that I shall tell you that the Americans living here are facing their ruin. During the night of the 13th to the 14th of the current month there arrived at my house a Frenchman sent by savages from various nations and tribes to warn me of their arrival and to tell me that there were three young men from their party stopping on the other side of the river who demanded a parley. At daybreak I sent out the interpreters, accompanied by another Frenchman, in order that they might listen to them. They said that they had been sent by their chiefs to warn the French that they were fifteen leagues from here at a place called Rivière a la Mothe with all their young warriors, in numbers of about four hundred and fifty, to massacre all the Americans they should find here in their lands and revenge themselves for the betrayals which they were suffering every day and for the inhuman treatment received by one of them recently. They requested me to come before them the same day because they wanted to open their hearts to me, and they did not want to enter into the village without having spoken to me.

As soon as these gentlemen returned, and after hearing them, I caused to be assembled the magistrates, the officers of our militias, and a number of other Frenchmen, who unanimously were agreed and seemed to have made up their minds not to allow the barbarians to injure the Americans established among them. I was pleased and satisfied with this determination, and I immediately ordered Major Bosseron to go immediately to meet this savage party, accompanied by Messieurs Vaudry and Pana, master interpreters, Antoine Gamelin, Pierre Gamelin, and several other Frenchmen. I gave them two pipes of peace and two white flags, on my behalf, to stop them and, in the name of all the Frenchmen, to tell them not to enter in such large numbers into the village, and that we requested them to return quietly to their wives and children because we were resolved to defend our neighbors and allies, and that we were opposed to their raid. As soon as Major Bosseron left, I provided for the safeguarding of the village, putting everything in good order, fortifying the minds of the people, and preparing the arms in order to repulse the blow which was threatening our neighbors. After having warned the Americans of the danger in which they were because of the number and attitude of the barbarians, I invited them to take all sorts of precautions to guard themselves well and defend them-

<sup>121</sup> BL, (French).

selves, and I told them that I was co-operating with all the French to forestall this fatal blow.

Major Bosseron, having stopped at the Little Rock about three miles from the village, planted his two flags at three o'clock in the afternoon, and discovered this party turning the point. It was composed of forty-seven pirogues, on which there were carried three red flags and two white ones. As soon as they had noticed the French, and the two flags planted on the Rock, they came to them and every one of them disembarked and shook hands with them, and sat down with a very grave mien. Immediately Major Bosseron had one of the calumets lighted and had it presented to them through *Sieur Vaudry*, saying to them, "My brothers, I and all the Frenchmen whom you see present here have been sent by our Chief who has remained at the village to quiet the women and children who are all in tears. It is you who are making them cry. He asks of you what your intentions are in coming here in such large numbers. Stop here. Do not come around our village. You will see the Frenchman. You will hear him speak. Remember that the Frenchman does not like to see blood spilt on his land."

After he had planted a flag in their midst and cast some ten tobacco rolls before them, all the war chiefs and village chiefs got up, each one in his turn, and said, "My brothers, we are accustomed to listen to you and to hear the truth from you, but behold today twelve *nattes* displayed and all the young men in arms. Everyone is anxious to avenge himself on the Americans and has made up his mind not to spare anything. You French may live quietly; our intention is not to strike you, but in order not to offend you we shall camp here and wait for the message of our Father. Take pity on us; we are fasting; some of our chiefs will go with you to salute Legras." Major Bosseron and the gentlemen who were accompanying him were surprised at their numbers and at their intention to attack, and embarked with the score of war and village chiefs whom they brought to my house. They also freed some Frenchmen the Indians had stopped on the way.

The chiefs, upon entering my house, shook hands with me and sat down coldly without saying a word. I kept six of the most respected ones and sent back the others with food for one day, strongly urging them to forbid their young men to come near the village tonight because we and the Americans were keeping watch, and had made up our minds to fire on the first one who should present himself. I spent part of the night in conference with the chiefs to bring them to my point of view and to frighten them. The next morning, the 15th, I prepared a present of merchandise worth about five pounds, a pipe of peace, and a flag. After having given my

orders to Major Bosseron for the safeguarding of the village, I embarked, accompanied by Messieurs Vaudry and Pana, interpreters, Antoine Gamelin, Paul Gamelin, La Chinne, and a number of other Frenchmen. I found all the village and war chiefs seated on the bank of the river near the Little Rock, awaiting us. They had made a place to receive us. I began to speak particularly to three *mangeurs d'hommes*, as those were people whom they fear, but I could gain nothing.

Deciding to risk everything, I had the merchandise that I had brought unloaded, planted the flag, and had the peace pipe lighted. I presented it to all the war and village chiefs present there and we all smoked it. I said to them through Mr. Vaudry, "My children, do not be ashamed of the small quantity of goods which I am placing before you. You know that I and all the Frenchmen in my village are poor. Although this is but little, it is with a heart of a true father, and of a father who loves his children, that I give it you. I am sorry to see my children at the gates of my village with tomahawks in their hands ready to strike, because you know your father the Frenchman never likes to see the blood of his allies flow on his land. He loves the women and children very much. Today all of you who are listening to me have pity for the women and children whom you are frightening and who cry night and day. Hide these weapons which scare them and which rob you of the bravest and finest young men of your village. Go back to your wives and children who are pining for you and who are calling upon you for food. Take pity on yourselves. It is a father speaking to his children, and one who is desirous of telling the truth. Do not make me ashamed."

All the war and village chiefs, after having listened to me attentively, got up, each one in his turn, and all answered just as if they had agreed upon it beforehand, that they were quite surprised that I should say such a thing to them; that they had not at all expected it; that they had always believed that, far from being prevented from striking the Americans, they had always counted upon the help of their brothers, the French, as they had been witnesses every time that the Americans had treacherously struck them. "My French brothers, you see us all armed to revenge ourselves for their lack of good faith, their betrayals and the barbaric cruelty which they have shown towards one of our men, then half dead in your village. Not satisfied with having a dead man shot by a woman, and scalping him, they have dragged him like a pig at the tail of a horse. They are the ones who began it. We want to show them that we can do as much as they; but, my Father, since you wish to tell the truth, we too want to tell the truth. If you do not want us to

shed blood on your land, chase all these Americans out of your village. We want to see them go away and we want to see for ourselves if it is quite true that you love the women and children. We recognize no other father than yourself, the Frenchman. You alone never deceive us."

After this speech, a chief of the river Languille got up and presented to the Pianquichia strands of black porcelain. He said to them, "You are still ignorant of the fact that for the last few moons all of us, together with other Redskins, have been receiving collars as inducements to destroy all the men wearing hats who are occupying this island and who seem to be leagued against us to drive us away from the lands which the Master of Life has given to us. Let us prevent them from doing so, and if we have to die, let it be bravely, and all those who may refuse to join the others will be treated as enemies of all the Redskins and all will join to destroy them, even their name. This collar comes from the Chavouesnon and Loups." At the end of this speech he gave these strands of porcelain to the Chief of the Pianquichia. As for me, seeing that I was not getting any favorable response to the plan that I had made, and quite surprised at their determined attitude, I re-embarked with my company, very sad at not having succeeded in this ticklish proposition, and I went back to the village where I caused great alarm and tears among our women. I doubled the guard and announced to everybody that, since I was unable to influence the savages by kindness, it was absolutely necessary to make them realize what men are like when they are aroused and desirous of defending their allies.

During the night five savages were arrested in the village by one of our guards. As they were unarmed we sent them back. The whole night passed very quietly. The next day, 16th of the current month, around 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, we began to notice the flags and saw all the savages coming into the open fields as if to begin an attack on the American fort, on which they even fired a few shots. They spread out on all sides, but seeing all our Frenchmen under arms and ready for battle, guarding all the streets very carefully, they did not dare to start anything. We recognized a white flag at the *monté de pierre*. We sent Sieur Pana there to ask them what they wanted. After he had heard them, he brought back some fifteen chiefs, whom he took to my house for another conference. After shaking hands with me, all spoke, each one in his turn, still repeating that they were quite anxious to revenge themselves for the insults that the Americans were continually heaping upon them. They reproached us Frenchmen with being mistreated and ourselves insulted every day by the Americans, and said that we ought to help the Indians instead of stopping them; but since I

wanted them to tell the truth, they begged me to send away all these Americans who were causing us all these troubles.

Displeased by their stubborn resolution, I got up, reproaching them for their lack of gratitude towards us Frenchmen and threatening to strike their young men bodily if any should appear near the village. I said that we Frenchmen had our weapons in good condition, that all we were waiting for was for them to begin, and that it was high time. Seeing my resolution and the firm attitude of all the Frenchmen, they began to soften and said to me, "My Father, we are discouraged. We are quite sure that you mean what you say. All you Frenchmen may be at peace, and even the Americans. We are going to have our young men withdraw and go away, and as a proof of our sincerity, you may send for the flags which are in our camp because they represent blood."

At the same moment we got word that the young men were killing our cattle on all sides. I immediately sent a number of armed Frenchmen to stop this disorder and to chase them away. This was done at once. As soon as the savages saw the Frenchmen coming towards them, apparently with the purpose of opposing their vandalism, they withdrew in bad order, abandoning the meat of the animals they had killed, which came up to rather a large number, including many pigs which were a complete loss. Having learned this, several chiefs who were still at my house as peacemakers, decided to leave immediately to call back the young men who were spread out on all sides. I sent some Frenchmen with them, who received from them two red flags, which were brought to my house. Having heard that there were some savages breaking into some deserted American houses for the purpose of ransacking them, I sent some of my Frenchmen there to drive them out. After that, as far as we know, they did not appear any more.

As we were beginning to believe that all would soon be quiet, we almost lost hope again. All the trouble that we had given ourselves might have been in vain because at that time there arrived some hunters from the fields who told us that the Americans in great numbers, coming we do not know whence, fell upon a band of Pianquichias from this village and a band of Miamis. Without inquiring as to whether they were friends or enemies, the Americans attacked them, killing six of them and wounding seven, all of them sons or descendants of chiefs. Pacanne's father-in-law and the three nephews of Montoure were among them. The Indians left all their goods and a number of packages on the field of battle. This was confirmed to us later. Fortunately for us all, the savages did not find out about this affair, which would have enraged them. Prompted by fury, they would no longer have listened to reason; but I greatly

fear that when they do learn of this, they will make a new attempt<sup>\*</sup> either here or on some other of our villages. Please note that it is the second or third time that the Americans have attacked savages who are their allies and who trade with them daily in this village.

The 17th of the present month in the morning I armed a canoe and sent several Frenchmen in it to take to the savages some fifty jugs of strong liquor. They reached them the same day; and as I had promised them this liquor to finish up the job of washing their hearts and inducing them to return to their village, several of the old men, expecting this "milk," had already slowly started in their pirogues and all the young men were already far away, each in his own manner. They accepted with much gratitude this liquor, which was given them ten leagues above here. They seemed to be satisfied, as were several of them to whom I gave five or six bottles as well as two oxen and two cows and a quantity of bread, not mentioning the amount of "milk" that I had to give them during all these conferences.

For the sake of precaution we kept a strict watch for several days to avoid any surprise and to put the people's minds at rest. Despite all the trouble that I and all the French have taken, and despite our precautions to keep the savages down and to maintain them in good relations with us and with the Americans, I fear very much that this next fall we shall not be quite so successful. I foresee that unfortunately the savages will return in greater numbers. They mentioned something about it upon withdrawing. They were angry because I refused them the entrance to the village. They stated that they would come back this fall and that they would be able to make themselves doors in order to come in without asking anybody. This last affair of the Pianquichias and the Miamis who were set upon in the prairies by a party of Americans, is going to indispose them very much and justify and encourage them all to come together to form a very strong force. Those Indians were from this village, allied to the Americans and believing themselves secure under our protection. They were killed as they were coming back loaded with the products of their fall, winter, and spring hunts, which they were bringing to this village to trade.

I neither know nor understand the motives prompting the Americans to set upon and betray those who are peaceful and allied with them. It only gives a pretext to all the nations to get together and form large parties to attack whole villages. This last coup that some vandals committed against a half dead man, who was more or less a charge of the French and who believed himself secure among us, was the pretext that the Indians used to attack the Americans. I am expecting La Demoiselle every day, as he is one of the



most respected chiefs of that band, which has always behaved itself. He has already sent me strands of black porcelain to indicate his sorrow and chagrin at seeing themselves killed and massacred by their allies. Not satisfied with killing them, the Americans cut and hacked them to pieces, a thing most unnatural, barbaric, and repulsive, and which even savages disdain to commit upon white people. They have contempt for those of us who commit such cruel deeds.

The only way of averting the blow which is threatening us is to win over La Demoiselle first, and after him the other chiefs who have suffered in this affair. But the deed is quite black and quite barbaric. I confess to you that I fear very much that I shall be unable to succeed. It is not courage that I lack, nor is it the fault of our old interpreter Vaudry, who has used all his knowledge to succeed, nor of our men generally. I shall make another attempt with their aid. I foresee that, if we cannot succeed, and if the chiefs come in as great numbers as they intend to, we shall not be strong enough to defend ourselves, and we shall soon be defeated by their numbers. I have already written to you about the numerous vagabonds who have come here. I beg you again to note that quite a few vagabonds have come here without permission and without my cognizance. Most of them are the ones who cause all the trouble in this country and they will lead us without fail to total ruin unless you call them back and have them leave this place.

Everything that I state to you is the truth, unalloyed and unadulterated. I call as witnesses all the Frenchmen and the Americans here. I hope that my conduct and that of all the Frenchmen will erase the bad impression and the reputation of inhumanity which we possess. Some of your Americans have wished to blacken our character in letters filled with lies. I have always flattered myself that you, who have known my character and that of all the Frenchmen in this country for a long time, will have rendered me better justice. Please examine seriously our sad situation; consider the misfortunes to which we are exposed. Despite my lack of fortune, I have spent a lot of money to stop the Indians, and I am afraid of losing everything because I do not know to whom to go to be repaid.

I am most respectfully, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. M. P. L. G.

AT POST VINCENNES, *22nd of July, 1786.*

MIRÓ TO GÁLVEZ

*August 1, 1786*<sup>122</sup>*Excellent Sir.*

MY DEAR SIR: In April of last year I succeeded in establishing peace between the Osage and Caddo Indians by taking advantage of the presence in this capital of the great chief of the latter, and two of the small medal chiefs of the former. The Osages were enthusiastically in favor of this peace and asked for it strongly. The Caddo chief was in the beginning very much opposed to it. This was not due to the fact that he did not desire it, for he offered on his part not to commit any hostility; but he knew the perfidy and bad faith of his enemies, and this made him believe that they would not observe it. Finally won over by the vehemence with which the Osages promised to be faithful, he consented to the peace.

I then, in order to strengthen them in their pacific intentions, told them that, if either of them failed to observe the peace, this government would regard that party as an enemy. I also stated that all the nations bordering on this kingdom should be included in the peace, as was also demanded by the Caddo chief. This condition I added in view of the fact that the commandants of the Interior Provinces had complained of the war that the Osages had made on those tribes, from which had come many abuses, even to the Spaniards.

Convinced that, if the Osages had a means of commerce on the upper Arkansas River, they would be more peaceful, and since they had come to ask for it, I succeeded in persuading a well-known merchant of this city to go up with them in a launch with goods to the value of 12,000 pesos. They reached their destination safely, and a council was called there of the principal men of the nation. The Osages presented themselves in it to the merchant and told him with much force and vehemence of the peace which they had established with the Caddos and other nations bordering on New Spain, upon the observance of which depended the continuation of their protection by this government and the constant furnishing to them of goods in trade. They also related as marvels all that they had seen in this city, the ships, the large size of the houses, the streets, the carriages, the dress, the distinguished people, and the entertainments to which I and many others at my suggestion had invited them. From all these circumstances and many others of less importance they boasted, believing themselves to be superior to the rest of their nation, who could not understand what was told them and doubted its truth. They applauded everything, however, showing themselves to be well-satisfied

with the reality of the commerce which they had before them, and gladly adhered to the peace mentioned.

Who would ever think that vanity and badly directed policy in the older of the two Osages who were at this capital, could have brought about an act of perfidy and open rupture of this peace? This chief, named Brucaiguais, in order to make the peace attractive to the Caddo, said to him in my presence, "My father was killed by you or yours, almost on the doorstep of your cabin, but I nevertheless extend to you my open hand to receive your peace, having given you proofs of my good intention by restoring to you last year one of my prisoners, your relative." This chief, animated by the promptings of indiscreet ambition, is the one who secretly formed a party in December of last year and sent it to attack the Caddos and Kichais. They surprised them separately, taking advantage of their faith in the treaty, and killed three of the former and two of the latter besides carrying off their horses.

The jealous promptings of which I speak above in connection with the aforesaid chief arose from the fact that the pretended wonders were heard by a companion of his, to whom I sent, as was proper, a small medal, suit, and hat. This man expressed his willingness and desire to come down to this capital when the merchant should return. This engendered great envy in the aforesaid Brucaiguais, since he knew that he would not be able to preserve his reputation as the greater man if his companion should carry out his intention, and he found no other means of preventing it except by breaking the peace so that the former would not dare to present himself. This he confessed afterwards, giving it as an excuse and urging the merchant, who returned after concluding the sale of his goods to advantage, to ask my pardon on his behalf.

The Caddo chief immediately presented himself at Natchitoches to the commandant and informed him of the hostilities just mentioned with the object that he should communicate them to me. He intimated that he expected me from this time on to treat the Osages as enemies.

My measures in regard to this affair up to now have been to warn the commandant of Arkansas to prohibit the sending of goods to the upper river so that the Osages may not provide themselves with them; and, in case they present themselves with submission, to inform them that I cannot any longer place the least confidence in their promises. He shall also inform them that, in the meantime, they can only acquire the protection of this government and uninterrupted commerce if, in proof of their good faith and in proof that the said hostilities arose solely from the caprice of Brucaiguais, they resolve to deliver this chief to me, as well as the chief who led the

warriors in the attacks. I shall keep them here as hostages without taking their lives and allow them the city as a prison with the condition that they send substitutes for them every year if they desire.

The said Osage nation is the one which has its principal domicile in the immediate neighborhood of the Ylinueses. Consequently I have warned Don Franci sco Cruzat to take the necessary measures to deprive them of commerce, if possible. I leave this point to his judgment. I fear this may not be so feasible there because they can provide themselves from the Americans and even from the English of Michillimackinac, which would bring the worst results. To avoid this it will perhaps be necessary to permit them to trade in Ylinueses in order to prevent them from recognizing any other power.

My prohibition against carrying goods farther than the fort of Arkansas may cause the Osages to molest the white hunters who are established on the upper part of the said river to the number of some 200. If the Osages kill one of them, it is to be expected that the others will abandon that hunting; but I do not now find any other means to make them recognize their lack of faith and gratitude, for if we should bear it without complaint, it would engender in them contempt for our nation. Besides this I understand that the loss of the trade of that river would not cause any appreciable damage, for, although it provides this city with a part of the fat and salt meat which it consumes, I do not fear a scarcity that would react unfavorably upon the subsistence of these citizens.

If the Osages commit hostilities instead of yielding, it will be necessary to find some means to intimidate them. Should this become necessary, I have sent several notes to that commandant ordering him to formulate a plan of attack which I presume even now will be very difficult on account of the ease with which they can take flight, and also because, if they commit hostilities, they will establish their domicile far distant from our posts. This will make it impracticable to surprise them without much expense.

I beg Your Excellency to deign to give me your orders and instructions so that this matter may be carried out in the most satisfactory manner.

Our Lord keep Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 1, 1786.*

Most Excellent Sir, I kiss Your Excellency's hands. Your most attentive servant,

ESTEVAN MIR  (Rubric)

Most Excellent SE  OR CONDE DE G  LVEZ.

## MUTTISHICO TO MIRÓ

*August 5, 1786*<sup>123</sup>

SIR: Agreeable to your Desire as soon as I arrived home I went to the upper towns and Delivered your letters and Called all the chiefs of the Nation to a meeting and had the hapiness to prevail over the English indians who are all agreed to meet your honour in Mobile at any time Next winter this very Day they have Received your talk in Great friendship and promises to abide by it till Death I left no trouble undone that lay in my power and I hope according to your promises you will make me a Great chief at my Return I hope you will not take it amis my sending it by my Captain and warriers.

MUTTISHICO

*August the 5th, 1786*

I hope as my brotherinlaw has lost his commission you will be good Enough to give him another

MUTTISHICO

To STEPHEN MIRO ESQ<sup>R</sup>. colonel of the armies Governor civil and military of the provinces of Lusanne Mobile and pensacola in west Florida.

## CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*August 23, 1786*<sup>124</sup>

No. 74.

MY DEAR SIR: In virtue of the information which I communicated to Your Lordship in my last official letter No. 73 concerning the war which the Indians are making upon the Americans established through all the territories adjoining the Ohio River, I send to Your Lordship a copy of a letter which the commandant of the post of Vincennes has written Colonel Clark, who is established in a place called the Falls. By this letter Your Lordship will be informed of the sad and unhappy situation of the inhabitants of the post of Vincennes. We have not even had news of the outcome of the large party which had been formed on the Illinois River for the purpose of attacking that post as I informed you in the aforesaid official letter. I have also received information that those Indians killed two Frenchmen settled at the post of Vincennes because they wished to take sides in defense of the Americans. This defense has resulted in turning those Indians also against the aforesaid inhabitants.

In everything relating to this district we are enjoying the same tranquility and friendship which I communicated to you in my last

<sup>123</sup> BL, (English).<sup>124</sup> BL.

official letter. Today there arrived in this town with fifty-seven men of his nation a principal chief of the Abenaki nation which is one of the most important of those on the Ohio River. He came to ask my permission to settle in our territory, and I have told him there is no objection to his doing so. He let me know that my reply gave him much satisfaction in view of the dislike which his people feel toward the Americans. I inform your Lordship of this for your guidance.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 23, 1786.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your affectionate servant,

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Sor. D. ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*August 23, 1786* <sup>125</sup>

No. 75.

MY DEAR SIR: The Very Reverend Father Fray Luis Guigues, who Your Lordship informed me in your official letter of the 26th of April was coming in the boat of Monsieur Sarpy with the necessary appointment by the Illustrious Señor Don Fray Sirilo de Barse-lona to take charge of the parish of Ste. Geneviève, has been for three days in this town. He came here from Ste. Geneviève to see Father Bernardo and me. He disembarked from the boat at the post of Arkansas, and from there he came by land with four Indians of the Peoria nation who happened to be at that place when the father arrived. He reached Ste. Geneviève on the 5th of this current month, having spent twenty-two days on his trip.

It has enabled him, notwithstanding the discomforts from which he suffered on his journey, to escape other greater hardships which he would have had to endure if he had continued his journey on the same boat because of the very excessive heat which we are now experiencing in these regions, and also because we lack information up to now of the place where the aforesaid boat of Monsieur Sarpy is to be found. In virtue of the recommendation which you give me of his character, you may rest assured that I shall endeavor to show him all courtesy and favor him to the best of my ability; for in every respect I wish to let Your Lordship know my constant desire to fulfill your orders exactly.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 23, 1786.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your affectionate servant.

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DU BREUIL TO CRUZAT

*October 25, 1786* <sup>126</sup>

*Copy of a letter written by Don Jacobo Du Breuil to the commandant of Ylinueses, Don Francisco Cruzat.*

MY DEAR SIR: On the date of the 30th of August, Don Pedro Piernas writes the following to me: "I am directed by the governor to make known to you his order to the governor of Ylinueses concerning the measures which have been taken against the Osage, with the object that he shall take the necessary steps on his part to bring those Indians to reason and induce them to deliver up the Chief Bru Caiguais at this capital to make the necessary amends. He shall take the trade from them if it should be necessary, and give information of the results to the governor general." I copy this for your information and bring to your knowledge that the said Bru Caiguais has broken the solemn peace which he had made with the Caddos through the mediation of Señor Estevan Miró, governor general of this province who, in the same agreement, promised his protection and offered to punish the first of the two who should fail to keep the pledge given in his presence.

Scarcely had the said Bru Caiguais arrived at his village, loaded with presents and gifts, when immediately he began to attack the Caddos. He sent several parties to make war against them, killed men, and stole horses. This irritates the governor greatly against him, and has caused him to determine to seek satisfaction from the whole nation for the infraction of so solemn a promise. With this object, he has ordered me, first to prohibit trade on this river and, if possible, to demand that hostages be sent with Bru Caiguais in order to give satisfaction, promising in consequence to treat them well. I am taking care that no one in this district shall take the smallest thing to trade on the upper river, and I have just despatched two white men to the villages of the aforesaid Indians to inform them of the intentions of the governor, and I expect they will bring me the hostages asked for and perhaps the chief Bru Caiguais.

The Arkansas Indians have just arrived from the capital, where they went to solicit permission to go to war against the Osage. This

was granted to them by the governor, who informs me in an official letter of the 29th of August, as follows: "If, notwithstanding the precautions that you have taken, the Osage continue hostilities, let the Arkansas go to war, for with this purpose a good present has been given to those who have come down here, including guns, a hundred pounds of powder, and the necessary ball; and if the Arkansas should in this case still need ammunition, you may issue it to the nation, for which purpose you have my authorization." The Indians of this district are friendly to the Caddo but are enemies of the Osage, against whom they have always been victorious. They promise good support to the Caddo immediately upon the withdrawal of the hunters of this district who are scattered on the branches of this river. They cannot, on account of low water, come down until the end of the year when the river usually rises.

Our Lord preserve you many years.

ARKANSAS, *October 25, 1786.*

I kiss your hands. Your most affectionate and faithful servant.

JACOBO DU BREUIL

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

MCGILLIVRAY TO FAYROT

*November 8, 1786*<sup>127</sup>

LITTLE TALLASSIE, *8 Novem<sup>r</sup>. 1786.*

SIR: I take this Opportunity by Reuben Dyer to apologize for my long Silence which has been principally owing to severe & long sickness together with a want of any authentic information to Communicate to you.—

During the course of the past summer & till lately we have been threatend with an attack from the Americans. & my time has been much taken up in preparing, that in the event of war or peace we might be ready.

The americans likewise have twice Invited us to a Conference pretending that they desire an amicable adjustment of our differences in preference to war, but having reason to distrust the sincerity of their professions, I have declind all proposals tending to a personal Interview.

In the course of my extensive correspondences I have been fortunate enough to obtain certain Information of their treacherous designs, it was their Intention had we agreed to meet them in treaty to have seized upon a number of principal chiefs to enforce a Compliance of their unjust demands & at once to extinguish their fears of an Indian War.

<sup>127</sup> BL, (English).



This plan they have executed in part, the Chiefs of the Tallassie & Cussitahs Towns & their dependencies have been always friendly to the American Interest & when the rest of the chiefs refused to treat, these chiefs obstinately persisted to go & see their Friends the Americans, & yesterday a Messenger from the Coweta brought me Information that some Cussitah & Pallachocolla Indians had arrived & gave accounts that the whole party that went down was confined in forts & that all the chiefs six in number were carried off from their people to Philadelphia, as the americans told them on their first arrival that they must go to the white Town to Confer with their great Council & these that are come up say that they made their escape at night from a fort, where the rest remain. I am in daily expectation of hearing farther of this perfidious business.—

please to accept Sir of my most Grateful acknowledgments for the civility you was pleased to honor me with & I wish you with Madame Favrot (whom I beg to accept my Compliments) many years of the greatest happiness. I remain Sir Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup>. Servant

ALEX<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>GILLIVRAY (Rubric)

HON. CAP<sup>t</sup>. FAVROT.

(Addressed:) HONORABLE PETER FAVROT ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

*Captain Commandant of Mobile &  
its dependency—at Mobile*

Lt. R. DYER.

LINDER TO FAVROT

*November 13, 1786* <sup>128</sup>

No. 53

*Copy of the letter written to me by Mr. J. Linder, Senior.*

SIR: I have the honor of warning you that I have been informed by one Skreb Darbin that he had met, at the junction of the road which goes to Pensacola and which is about four leagues from my house, Monsieur Jacob Magnaque, father-in-law of Monsieur Alexander McGillivray, commissioner of the Talapoosa nation, who told him that the Americans had induced some four hundred Talapoosa men, women, and children to come, under pretext of holding a congress, to Skalop Creek, about forty leagues from the nearest Talapoosa village and located in the middle of the woods. When this group of savages arrived at the said place, there were about three thousand armed Americans hidden nearby who surrounded them and made them all prisoners.

<sup>128</sup> BL, (French).

They released one to take a message to the Talapoosa nation to tell their chiefs that they had to submit to the demands that had been made of them formerly, which are: First, give them the lands which they had asked of them; second, surrender all the goods which they had taken during the war that they had with England, since Indians had absolutely no reason to mix in a war of the white people; third, they demanded satisfaction for all the murders that the Indians committed on their citizens last summer. In case these three demands were refused, they stated that they were ready to declare war on them and invade the nation to secure justice by the force of arms.

This news has alarmed the whole nation. More than a hundred persons, most of whom are traders, are ready to leave in order to come into this government and into that of Pensacola. These demands are a result of the refusal of the Talapoosas to other demands made upon them last May, the main one of which was to surrender to the Americans Jacob Magnaque, Alexander McGillivray, commissioner of the nation, Joseph Cornel, and Richard Belly. These four are white. Furthermore, they ask for Mad Dog, king and chief of the whole nation, and three others of the principal chiefs whose names I do not know. The Talapoosas, in view of the danger which is threatening them, have gathered all their cattle and horses, which they are driving up into the jurisdiction of Pensacola; and Monsieur Alexander McGillivray is already on his way to go to his house, which is about eight leagues from here. He is to arrive there in about eight days.

I impart all this news to you because I believe it merits attention. I am with deepest respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

Signed: J. LINDER.

AT TINSA, 13th of November 1786.

TO MR. FAVROT.

I certify that this copy conforms word for word to its original which we have in our hands, written in French.

PEDRO FAVROT. (Rubric)

#### REPORT OF BAUVAIS CONCERNING CLARK

*November 15, 1786* <sup>129</sup>

*Report of what has been related to me on the 15th of November 1786, by Mr. Sainte Geme Bauvais, a trustworthy man, inhabitant of the village of Kaskaskia, in the American district.*

In letters that he had received from various people from Post

<sup>129</sup> BL, (French).

Vincennes dated the 4th and 5th of October last, he is apprised of the arrival of Monsieur George Clark, commanding a party of American militia of about twelve hundred men, coming supposedly for the purpose of waging war upon the Miami savages, their enemies, at their village located halfway between Post Vincennes and the village of Detroit occupied by the English. After marching for three days, he had stopped because his detachment had abandoned him except for two hundred men, with whom he returned to Post Vincennes, where he is having a fort constructed now.

The inhabitants are obliged to work at it and bring the wood, at their own expense, and Clark is provoking them greatly. Moreover, the said George Clark had confiscated the property of various individuals of the Spanish district, who had come to Post Vincennes to see about their family affairs and for other reasons, and forced these said persons named Jean Pierre, Pierre Cazadonne, and Ganigon, to march with him against the Miami savages; and amongst others Monsieur Alvarez was obliged, in order to avoid persecution, to run away at night and to set himself adrift with part of his belongings on the river in the direction of New Orleans, where we hope he has arrived safely. Monsieur George Clark, according to what is stated, for the purpose of excusing this act of vandalism, says that he is committing reprisals because at Natchez the Spaniards confiscate the American boats which come down from Fort Duquéne. It is to be feared, according to what is said, that he and his band will perpetrate some injury on the boats which will come up from the city next spring.

#### REPORT BY PRATTE ON ACTIVITIES OF CLARK

*November 24, 1786*<sup>130</sup>

*News brought back to me by Mr. Pratte, inhabitant of Ste. Geneviève, this 24th of November 1786.*

A person of the village of Kaskaskia (whom discretion does not permit me to name on account of possible unforeseen circumstances) has told him that General Clark sent from Post Vincennes where he was to Mr. Edgard, a merchant of the village of Kaskaskia, a message in which he gave him several orders and two captain's commissions, one for himself and the other for the person who does not wish to be named, and who refused it under various pretexts.

The general's order states that the aforesaid two captains shall each form a company of 60 men whom they will recruit in the country. They shall offer to each soldier fifteen piasters a month, and three hundred acres of land for them to choose wherever they

<sup>130</sup> BL, (French).

wish as soon as the campaign will be ended, and remain ready to go down to Natchez by the first of February to capture it by force if resistance is offered. As a consequence of this, there are twenty-four companies formed in this region; that is to say, Kentucky, Cumberland, and other inhabited locations in the lower Ohio and the rivers which flow into it. Sieur Edgard, seeing that this person refused the commission, said nothing more to him and forbade him under any pretext whatsoever to say anything to anybody, and stated that, if he said anything, he would be punished severely.

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*December 2, 1786* <sup>131</sup>

No. 84.

MY DEAR SIR: After I informed Your Lordship in my official letter No. 79 of the reports concerning the operations of the Americans, there arrived at this town on the 15th of last November the inhabitant of the town of Kaskaskia, Mr. Saintgème Bobé, brother of the one who lives in Pointe Coupée, who gave me the news which you will see in the accompanying statement. By it Your Lordship will perceive the plan of those Americans. I am nevertheless sure that Eugenio Alvarez (who I believe must have already returned to that city, and who went to the post of Vincennes to see if he could collect a sum of money which he lent four or five years ago in this town to Francisco Vigo) will have informed Your Lordship more exactly of the whole plan of the Americans in that matter, and the preparations which, to all appearances, they are making for this spring.

On the 24th of last month there arrived at this town the inhabitant of the town of Ste. Geneviève, Juan Baptista Prat. He was commissioned by the commandant of that town, Don Antonio de Oro, who sent him, in obedience to the orders which I communicated to him, to report to me the news which he acquired in the town of Kaskaskia through a relative of his who is the one who refused the captain's commission which was offered to him. The report is the same as Your Lordship will see in the accompanying statement. Besides this I ought to inform Your Lordship of the arrival at the towns of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in this eastern district of Illinois, of a sergeant commissioned by Colonel Clark for the purpose of collecting such recruits as he could and conducting them to the post of Vincennes. I believe he has not had much success, for I have been assured that he has only collected ten or a dozen recruits up to today. Nevertheless, it will be a good thing if Your Lordship will warn the boats which may go up this spring from that city to take all the

precautions necessary to prevent being surprised on their voyage, and to urge the commandant of Natchez to be on the lookout. You may be assured that I, on my part, shall not fail to inform you of anything that may occur in this matter and that may come to my notice, so that you may be acquainted with everything, notwithstanding the long distance between this town and the Ohio River, through which the Americans may easily make their expedition before any news of it reaches me.

The aforesaid Saintgеме Bobé left a week ago for the post of Vincennes to look for his sister whose husband was killed by the Indians this spring. According to what he told me, he will be back from his trip some time this month, and he promised to bring me exact information of everything that he can acquire; and, if it should turn out to be of any consequence, I shall immediately communicate it to Your Lordship, and shall also notify the commandant of Natchez. This is all that I can think of to tell Your Lordship in regard to this affair to date.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *December 2, 1786.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your faithful servant

FRAN<sup>co</sup> CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

DU BREUIL TO MIRÓ

*December 16, 1786.*<sup>132</sup>

No. 50

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The rivers of this district are as follows: First is the Arkansas, which has its source near the kingdom of New Mexico, according to the report of the hunters who have navigated it for more than 400 leagues, and it empties into the Mississippi at a point 250 leagues from the capital. It abounds in fish such as the catfish, the *pargo*, seatrout, carp, *armado*, herring, eel, and turtle of two varieties. The Arkansas has several branches in which there are salt beds that give in summer a slightly salty taste to the water. The territory watered by this river has a natural growth of poplars, willows, oaks, cypress, walnut, pecans, elms, etc.

The flying game consists of bustards, geese, ducks of several kinds, swans, cranes, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, crows, thrushes, turtle-doves, hawks, eagles, magpies, goldfinches, redbirds, orioles, warblers, etc. The quadruped animals are the buffalo, deer, antelope, goat, bear, tiger or panther, wildcat, wolf, foxes of two kinds, rabbit, beaver, and otter. At some places on its banks rock crystals are found, as I have

learned from two persons. One of them saw a gold mine two days' march by land from the bank of this river, about eighty leagues up. According to his account it is situated between the Red River and the Pawnees and Caddos. The other person learned of it through his brother who smelted a piece of ore given to him by an Osage Indian. According to the accounts given by these two persons who had not communicated with each other, it appears to be the same mine.

Second, the White River and that of St. Francis have their sources at one day's march from Ste. Geneviève of Ylinueses. The first-named empties into the Mississippi, five leagues above its confluence with the Arkansas, and joins with it by its branch three leagues from its mouth. The St. Francis River has its confluence with the Mississippi 35 leagues farther up than the White River. The two rivers named have the same kinds of fish, birds, and quadrupeds as that of Arkansas, but not in such abundance. The trees to be found in their territories are of the same kind as in the first-named. The soil is suitable for the cultivation of wheat, flax, hemp, and tobacco; but the greatest industry of the inhabitants at present is hunting.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *December 16, 1786.*

I kiss the hands of Your Lordship. Your most attentive and faithful servant.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### EXPENSES OF MISSION TO THE OSAJE

*December 16, 1786* <sup>133</sup>

##### *Detachment of Arkansas*

Statement of the extraordinary expenses which have been incurred for the purpose of going to ask satisfaction from the Osage nation for breaking the peace concluded with the Caddos, Quitses, and others of the province of Texas in the presence of the governor general of this province.

	P <sup>s</sup> .	R <sup>s</sup> .	M <sup>s</sup> .
To Francisco Martin as interpreter and envoy of the aforesaid commission .....	150	"	"
To Pedro Fleur d'Epée, his assistant.....	100	"	"
A horse bought from Don Andres Lopez for the said Martin...	50	"	"
Another horse bought from Don Francisco Menard for Fleur d'Epée .....	50	"	"
Ditto for the same purpose two saddles for the two horses at 15 pesos each .....	30	"	"
One hundred pounds of biscuit at one real and seven a pound..	18	2	"

	P <sup>s</sup> .	R <sup>s</sup> .	M <sup>s</sup> .
For the Chief Cogisigdès who came with the said Martin, a			
Limburg blanket .....	8	"	"
Two rolls of tobacco at 2 pesos .....	4	"	"
One white shirt .....	5	"	"
One hat .....	4	"	"
For the support of the said chief with eight men at the rate of two reales daily from the 12th up to and including the 16th	11	2	"
	430	4	"

As commandant of this post and district I certify on my word of honor that the four hundred and thirty pesos and four *reales*, to which the preceding account amounts, being the total amount of the preceding statement, have been employed for the purposes specified therein, and in witness thereof I submit the present writing at the Fort of Carlos III on the 16th of December, 1786.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

DU BREUIL TO MIRÓ

*December 29, 1786* <sup>134</sup>

No. 55.

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: In consequence of the explanation I gave Your Lordship in my letter No. 45, after I had caused a pirogue to be made ready with the necessary provisions and named an escort to convoy the Osage Indians, as I inform Your Lordship in the said official letter, I caused them to appear in my presence. Chief Cogisiguedes then related to me that, when Francisco Martin arrived at the place where the greater number of his nation was encamped, he came in time to dissuade them from believing a piece of news which had been given them by Benito Basquez, a trader sent from Ylinueses, who spoke to them in this wise:

"My children, I am bringing you four pirogues full of merchandise, but there is so little water in this river (speaking of that of the Osage) that I was obliged to stop sixty leagues from your village. I then decided to come here in a canoe to inform you that your great father of New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas, so that they may make war on you by way of that river. I therefore warn you that you would be ill-advised to go there to hunt, for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of Ylinueses is more kind, and since he loves you all, he sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas."

This produced great excitement in the nation, to such an extent that a large number of them determined to come up to rob and

kill the hunters of this river, before the aforementioned army had time to arrive. One of the chiefs had a considerable party ready to march when Francisco Martin arrived and informed them of the intentions of Your Lordship. This was believed by some, but others said that, if Your Lordship demanded the hostages mentioned, it was with the object of taking their lives. To this Cogisiguedes replied that he was charged with taking them to Your Lordship and so he would give account to them of the manner in which they were treated. This determined the nation to abandon the intention of coming to kill the hunters on the Arkansas River, and induced them to give the hostages mentioned. One of the hostages would have been Caigues Tuajanga, alias Bru Caigais, but he was at the point of death. They degraded him from his rank and he agreed to send you the medal, commission, and flag, which was turned over to me until time to embark.

As soon as the said chief Cogisiguedes stopped speaking, I told the things Your Lordship charged me in your official letters to tell them. This satisfied him. It was settled that they would embark on the following day as they were prevented from so doing on the same day, the 16th, by a heavy rain. So they retired to the cabin outside the fort which the Indians usually occupied because there was no room for them inside. Early in the morning of the next day the interpreter Francisco Martin came to inform me that the aforesaid Indians had gone away in the night, without having given the slightest warning, from what he could learn. This determined me to send six white men, for I had not found more than six horses fit to draw a cart, in search of a party of Arkansas in order that they might pursue the Osage, follow them up, bring them back, and charge them with their perfidy.

A party of fourteen Indians came immediately. Well pleased, they left at noon with six whites, all commanded by Sergeant Aleu to whom I gave my orders. They had scarcely gone five leagues when the Arkansas abandoned the whites, despite everything that Aleu said to them. He would have gone on alone with the six white men until he could have overtaken them, if the Indians would have lent him their horses; but even though the white men went on two days longer following the tracks of the Osage, they were not able to overtake them. For want of the horses they were compelled to return. The Osage are famous for speed on the march, which they made day and night without stopping. I severely reprimanded the leader who was at the head of the party of Arkansas, but they pay no attention to anything that one tells them, since all the ambition of this nation is centered in brandy, which is destroying them.



I learned from a woman of this post, who had overheard a conversation between a respectable Arkansas and the said Cogisiguedes on the afternoon of the same day he spoke to me, that the former said to the latter, "Brother, I have heard it said that you were going to the town. How I pity you! The governor is so irritated against your nation that I am sure he will order you to be burned; so believe me and do not go." This without doubt must have caused him to take flight. I am sending to Your Lordship the medal, commission, and flag of the aforesaid Bru Caigues. It seems to me to be absolutely necessary to stop all communication by trade with the Osage nation at least for two or three years, or to make war on them solely with whites; for if this is costly, that made by employing Indians is more so, and less permanent. In the effort to obtain the satisfaction asked for from the aforesaid Osage I have spent the money indicated in the account which I enclose, and which I hope will receive the approval of Your Lordship.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *December 29, 1786.*

Your most attentive and faithful servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

JACOBO DU BREUIL (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MIRÓ TO DU BREUIL

*January 25, 1787*<sup>135</sup>

Your official letter No. 55 informs me of what happened with the Osage Chief Cogisiguedé and his small party, whose inconstancy has indeed given me great sorrow; for there is no other course left than to deny them absolutely all trade and allow the Kadohadacho and their allies to act.

The Arkansas have not conducted themselves on this occasion with the activity and zeal that I expected of them after the fine words and promises they made here to be ready whenever we might need them. It is necessary for you to reprimand them severely, and bring them to see that they do not know their own true interest, and that in protecting the Osage they are protecting a viper which will gnaw their entrails. Tell them that they are not conducting themselves like good sons, for their Spanish father loves them tenderly, and they ought to assist him in his good desires, since he has no other object than universal peace and tranquillity.

In case the word given by Don Benito Vasquez should be true, I am sending an exact copy of your letter to the lieutenant governor

of Ylinoa, directing him to take depositions of everything that happened, and send them to me so that I may take the serious measures required in regard to the matter. Thank Sergeant Aleu for his promptness and good service.

The last paragraph in your official letter displeased me very much because it is contrary to the repeated orders for economy which I have urged upon you. And, as is evident, I cannot demand payment of the 130 pesos which is the cost of the two horses and two saddles for I have not even seen them nor know of their existence or whereabouts. From now on you must understand that no expenses will be paid but the legitimate and indispensable ones and, even though the occasion should demand it, I shall pay for only those that are previously approved by me.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 25, 1787.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON JACOBO DUBREÜILL.

ROUSSEAU AND DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*March 20, 1787*<sup>136</sup>

Statement of trading goods which we, Don Pedro Rousseau and Don Louis Charles de Blanc, believe necessary for the presents for the three Indian nations of this jurisdiction, namely, the Great Caddo, the Little Caddo, and the Kichai. The Yatasí and the Natchitoch are excluded and do not deserve to be included any longer among the recipients of presents.

To wit:

- 100 lbs. of good gunpowder.
- 200 lbs. of ball, calibre 30 to 32.
- 18 muskets carefully conditioned and examined.
- 18 copper kettles of various sizes.
- 1 thousand rifle flints.
- 25 lbs. of assorted beads: sky-blue, black, and white.
- 12 pieces of crown lace of various colors.
- 1 gross of woodsman's knives.
- 8 lbs. of vermilion.
- 2 dozen mirrors, framed.
- 3 lbs. deer thongs [*fil de rienne*].
- 20 lbs. of large copper wire.
- 1000 large needles.
- 1 gross boxwood combs.
- 1 gross worm screws.

<sup>136</sup> BL, (French).

1 gross whalebones.  
 1 gross small bells.  
 1 gross flints.  
 1 gross scissors.  
 2 dozen shirts of gingham.  
 12 white blankets of two and a half points each.  
 1 piece of Limburg cloth.  
 1 dozen tomahawks.  
 1 dozen chopping knives.  
 6 axes.  
 30 jugs of tafia.

three embroidered hats.	}	For the three large medal chiefs.
three uniforms.		
6 trimmed white shirts.		
1 piece of red ribbon for their medal.		

The governor general of this province, Don Esteban Miró, desiring to furnish the arms and munitions of war mentioned on the other side to the nations for use against the Osage nation, their enemy, desires to know approximately what they need. We cannot state anything as to that. We merely point out to His Lordship that the three abovementioned nations have as their allies the Hainai, the Nabadache, the Anadarko, the Nacogdoche, the Tawakoni, the Niscanis, and the Tawehash. These nations live in the province of Texas and are all the enemies of the Osage. They are all ready to make war on them at the request of the great chief of the Caddo and that of the Arkansas.

NATCHITOCHES, *March 20, 1787.*

PIERRE ROUSSEAU (Rubric)  
 LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

#### BERNARD RELATIVE TO THE GRAND VICAR

*April 27, 1787* <sup>137</sup>

SIR: For compliance with the order of His Catholic Majesty to the missionaries of Illinois not to receive the tithe any longer, and to conform ourselves, as far as the perquisites are concerned, to the regulations of the diocese of Cuba, we had hoped that the Reverend Father Antoine, Grand Vicar, would not fail to send us these regulations so that we might conform to them; but I have been grieved to learn from Mr. Labadie that, far from sending these regulations, he even refuses me the consolation of a simple letter in answer to several which I wrote to him for the purpose of being relieved of my post in

<sup>137</sup> BL, (French).

Illinois. I have just now found out through Colonel Don Pedro Piernas that this Reverend Father had told him that I would be relieved by the first priest to arrive in the colony, no consideration being had for my physical and spiritual infirmities. Imagine sending to a sick man a doctor who is still at Havana, perhaps even in Europe!

Therefore I am writing to him again now, and I am begging him by the sufferings of Jesus Christ to put an end to my troubles and my infirmities and to take me away from a country where stomach troubles afflict me daily, and where I live among priests to whom for the last eleven years I have not dared to open my conscience. The character of one of them is strongly suspected by several people, whereas the others have been suspended by the Bishop of Canada. You may judge whether such priests are fit to deserve the confidence of a penitent, and whether I should not wither of chagrin. As they do not belong to our diocese, I have always refrained from informing my superiors about these priests, but since they have no consideration whatever for my troubles, I am sending to the Reverend Father Antoine two letters written by these two priests so that he may judge how much confidence may be placed in them when it is a question of their administering the sacrament of confession.

Therefore, Sir, I hope that you will be so kind as to employ your good offices to obtain my release from Illinois. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

FATHER F. BERNARD, Missionary.

ST. LOUIS, *27th of April, 1787.*

VALLIERE TO MIRÓ

*April 29, 1787*<sup>138</sup>

Copy 1.

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: On this date the person named Paul Martin, a hunter of this river, arrived, bringing me the information that he had found the bodies of two men and a woman, recently killed, at a distance of sixty leagues from this post. Paul Martin says they were killed by the Osages, who set fire to all the camps of the hunters and the prairies. Missing from the post of Natchitoches are Luis Bayone, his brother, an Indian woman and her daughter, with their servants Langeven and Laveau, whom the hunters say they recognized. The dead persons are the said servants and the Indian woman. It is not known where their masters are.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *April 29, 1787.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most devoted and faithful servant,

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ,

JOSEPH VALLIERE.

MIRÓ (Rubric)

## MIRÓ TO CRUZAT

*May 15, 1787*<sup>139</sup>

No. 50.

The perfidy of the Great Osage is no longer to be concealed, as you will see by the copy of the official letter from the commandant of Arkansas. They have just manifested their treason and bad faith by falling upon the habitation of the hunter Bayona and committing the murders and outrages related in this letter. For this reason it is necessary to take a party and punish this nation and compel it to recognize justice, and demand from it the most complete satisfaction for its deed. You will act according to the following orders.

Since my measures have as their only object the securing of satisfaction for the injuries committed, the assurance of the respect of the nation, and the good of the province, it is useful that all shall know the reasons which prompt us and the rights that belong to us. For this purpose you will cause the enclosed proclamation to be published and posted in the entire district of your command.

As soon as the publication has been completed, you will inform the inhabitants of the importance of the reasons which the government has for suppressing the insolence and perfidious acts of the Great Osage, and afterwards you will make use of every vigorous means to prevent even the slightest dealings with the said nation. You shall bring suit against any one who engages in such trade and confiscate any pelts or other articles that the trade may have produced, informing me of everything with the original documents and sending to me the criminals and confiscated goods. It is clear that, if this measure is prosecuted with vigor, the Osage will soon be reduced to poverty, and consequently to repentance, which will render it easy for us to obtain satisfaction.

To make war on them through the whites would be ruinous and very costly for the royal treasury and the poor inhabitants, without securing even the slightest advantage. Furthermore, the Osage would frustrate our attacks by flight. For this reason it would be prudent and advisable to influence the other nations against them. To this end you will distribute the two hundred pounds of powder and four hundred of ball which Chouteau is taking among the nations most faithful to us who may promise to go to war against the said enemies.

Even in the midst of all the measures that may be taken, it is wise to cause the Indians to see that we treat them like disobedient children and not as enemies, for it is not a good thing for us to acquire the name of a sanguinary or cruel people. This only serves to make repentance more difficult, for he who hopes for no pardon continues

obstinate, since he finds no remedy but to die with his weapons in his hand. Such a state of affairs is not good for them nor for us. These reflections give rise to the obligation of giving the Osage a hearing if they present themselves, of treating with them and offering them pardon, although in the present circumstances you will offer it to them under the strict condition that they shall deliver up as many Indians as the whites who were killed, according to the agreement that was made with the nations in the time of Don Pedro Piernas. Seeing that these Indians are of the party which killed the three named in the letter of Valliere, there is no doubt that, if they have taken Bayona and his daughter prisoners, they will bring them immediately, but, if they do not come forth with them, they are to give as many more Indians of the party referred to. If it is not possible to have an equal number of Indians delivered up from the party which is the aggressor, those given up shall not suffer the penalty of death, for it is not right for us to make the innocent suffer for the guilty.

Another condition will be that the same Osage shall present two chiefs as hostages to be responsible for their nation. They will be maintained in this city at the expense of His Majesty and treated as friends, and will be relieved by others every year.

It is necessary to consider that not all the Great Osage are equally guilty, but that many are deceived and falsely influenced, while others are forced to join, and many have followed their chiefs through friendship or relationship. A portion of the Osage detests such acts and, consequently, it will be easy to induce them to use their influence to obtain the satisfaction which we solicit, for it is easier for them to compel the rebels of their nation to subject themselves to the prescribed conditions.

I repeat that these measures should be prosecuted with vigor, and even when you have nothing more than well-founded suspicions that some one is trading with the Great Osages, you should arrest him and examine his conduct, ascertaining, whether he has any Indian goods, and where he got them; and, if any indications point to the fact that they are from the aforesaid enemies, you will send him to this capital, so that he may be prevented from returning to that region in case it is not possible to inflict punishment upon him because the crime is not thoroughly proved.

You have told me that no difficulty will be encountered in removing trade from the Osage, and in the meantime this measure should be entirely observed; but should you perceive that the publication of the proclamation may have some bad consequences for that district, such as exposing to assassination the people living in country houses distant from that town, when the Osage learn of the circumstances, or any other result that your practical knowledge may lead you to

foresee, you will modify the wording of the proclamation, signing it and publishing it under my order; and you will in turn send me the corresponding notification, as well as anything else that may occur which bears on the matter.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 15, 1787.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

FILHIOL TO DE BLANC

*May 18, 1787*<sup>140</sup>

OUACHITA, *the 18th of May, 1787.*

SIR: Sieur François Toutin, accompanied by Sieurs Louis Toutin, Charles St. Pierre, and Jean Salvadeau, appeared the 16th of this month at my office and stated that, while they were hunting in the upper part of the bayou of the Saline, near the Arkansas River, their camp was plundered and robbed during their absence. Upon their return they found that four persons, whom they had left as watchmen, had had their heads cut off. These were Jean Louis Riquet, called La Verdure, one L'Angevin, a Canadian, one free savage woman of the Natchitoch nation called Marie, and her five-year old child. They were seized with fright when they made this discovery and they hastened to come back to Ouachita. This misfortune happened on the 2d of last April. They stated that nothing was saved.

The said François Toutin, who is coming to your post, has asked me for this letter, and I was unable to refuse it to him. I have the honor of being very sincerely, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant.

FILHIOL (Rubric)

[Addressed:]

To Monsieur LOUIS DE BLANC, Captain of the Militia,  
Commandant of Natchitoches ad interim.

# INVESTIGATION CONCERNING SALE OF LIQUOR AT ARKANSAS POST TO THE ABENAQUIS

*May 19, 1787*<sup>141</sup>

At the fort of Carlos III of Arkansas, on the 19th of May, 1787, I, Don Josef Valliere, captain and commandant of the said post, was informed by Monsieur Duran, trader of the Abenaki nation,

<sup>140</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>141</sup> BL.

that there arrived at this post on the same day a party of Indians of that nation, with the object of making peace with this nation of the Arkansas in order to settle for the murder by them of an Arkansas Indian. Another small party arrived at this post planning to trade for provisions, and they mingled with the Arkansas Indians in order to drink brandy for which the Abenaki Indians had traded in the house of Don Bentura Orueta, merchant of this post. On the same day they retired to camp at a short distance away on the bank of this river in order to rest for some days.

Don Bentura Orueta then sent out one of his Negroes who knows the language of the Abenakis to exchange brandy with them for some pelts they had left. They became intoxicated on this liquor, and then they all seized and beat two of the Arkansas Indians, who had remained there among them, so severely that one of them died that night, and the other was a long time sick and near death. On account of this affair the Arkansas Indians wished to avenge themselves, but were restrained by the commandant of this post, Don Jacobo Du Breuil, who detained them and, by giving to them some presents, allowed the Abenakis to escape. The commandant explained to the Arkansas that the killing of the man had been caused by drink, and by these words he was able to restrain them from following the Abenakis.

When I took over the command of this post from Don Jacobo Du Breuil and learned all about this affair, I gave a positive order to all the inhabitants and merchants of the post prohibiting them from giving liquor in trade to any Indian of either nation, not only to prevent any disturbances that might result among them, but also for the tranquillity and quiet of the town. But Don Bentura Orueta, having learned through the aforesaid Duran that the Abenakis were coming, sent two of his Negroes, without letting any one know about it, with some liquor to trade with them before they arrived at this post. This they actually did. The greater part of the Abenakis became drunk and arrived at this post giving the cry of death, occasioned by the fact that there was in this post the war chief of the Arkansas nation called Paxe, with ten Indians of his party. This chief, seeing the boldness with which they arrived, killed one man, a relative of the chief. He was determined to advance upon the Abenakis and kill them. This was stopped by the commandant who, seeing the intention of the Arkansas, called the chief and put them in the fort. He then caused them to be told that the actions of the Abenaki Indians were caused by drink, and at the same time called before him a man named Bolon who was in this post and who knew the language of the Abenakis.

He asked the man some questions about who had given the drink



to the Abenakis and he replied that it had been traded to them by two Negroes on this river at a distance of three leagues from this post. I caused him to be questioned as to whether he knew the Negroes, and he replied that he did. He said that they were the same who traded them the liquor at the time when they killed the Arkansas Indian, and that they resemble two Negroes of Don Bentura Orueta. The Abenakis stated that they were the same. I asked the Negroes who had sent them to trade the liquor. They replied that it was their master who had sent them to look for a pirogue, and that he had given them a flask of liquor for themselves. I caused Don Bentura to appear before me and asked him if he had given his Negroes some liquor for trading with the Abenaki Indians. He replied that he had not.

At that same time I caused the Negro who understood the language of the Abenakis, to be put in the stocks. I then told Don Bentura that his Negro said he had given them a flask of brandy to get them to go and look for the said pirogue. He said it was true, but that he did not know whether they had traded with it or not. I then made Bolon ask the Abenakis if they had not traded for more than one flask of brandy. They replied that it was much more, not only brandy but also other spirits. Seeing that the answers of Don Bentura Orueta and his Negroes were contrary to the statement of the Abenakis, I threatened the Negro with one hundred lashes unless he told me the truth, and I appointed to carry out this act the sergeant of this detachment, Magin Aleu, and as clerk, to take before two witnesses the testimony and ascertain the truth. They agreed to this and they swore to act faithfully and legally, each one to his charge, and signed with me.

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric).

ANSELME LA JEUNESSE (Rubric) X Mark of PEDRO SANDELA

MAGIN ALEU (Rubric)

At the same time I directed the second corporal of this detachment to give the order to all the inhabitants and merchants of this post that on no pretext are they to carry on trade in liquors with either nation under penalty of having all their liquors confiscated by the King. When the corporal went to give the order to Don Bentura Orueta, he replied with great violence, telling him to say to the commandant that he had no need of such orders, as he knew his duty very well, and the commandant might set a better example for all to follow. To this the corporal replied that he did not wish to carry such an answer to his commandant, but Orueta insisted that he should tell it as he said it. However, I sent a summons to him by the same

corporal, but he replied that he was sick and could not come. I sent the sergeant to put him under arrest in his house until Your Lordship should decide the affair. To this I caused the corporal to affix his signature.

ALEXANDRO PARZENO (Rubric)

At the same time I caused the aforesaid Negro to appear and raise his right hand and make with it the sign of the cross after asking him if he made oath to God and promised the King to speak the truth in the following questions.

*Reply.*

I so swear and promise.

*Question.*

What is his name and his religion and where was he born?

*Reply.*

His name is Luis, he is Apostolic Roman Catholic, born in New Orleans.

*Question.*

Who sent him to trade with the Abenaqui Indians?

*Reply.*

His master, Bentura Orueta.

*Question.*

What did he take for the purpose of trading with the Indians?

*Reply.*

He took flasks of brandy and one keg of liquor.

*Question.*

With whom did he trade these liquors?

*Reply.*

He traded them with the Abenaqui Indians.

*Question.*

For what did he trade the liquors?

*Reply.*

He traded them for pelts.

*Question.*

Did he not know of the order which had been given by the commandant not to trade in liquors with the Indians?

*Reply.*

He did know of it, but understood that his master had permission to trade with them. His master knew about the order the same as he did, and he is a slave and did what his master ordered him to do.

*Question.*

Has he anything else to say and what is his age?

*Reply.*

That he has nothing else to say and he is twenty years old.

After hearing his declaration read, he said it was the same as he

had made, and that he affirms it under oath and, because he does not know how to write, he signed with a cross. The witnesses signed it with the aforesaid commandant, to which I, the notary, certify.

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)                      X Mark of the NEGRO LUIS  
ANSELME LA JEUNESSE (Rubric)              X Mark of PEDRO SANDELA

At the same time I caused the other Negro to appear before me, and, after making him raise his right hand and make with it the sign of the cross, I asked him if he swore before God and promised the King to speak the truth in regard to the questions I was going to ask him.

*Reply.*

I so swear and promise.

*Question.*

What is his name, religion, and birthplace?

*Reply.*

His name is Sezar, religion Apostolic Roman Catholic, birthplace Guinea.

*Question.*

Who ordered him to trade with the Abenauqui Indians?

*Reply.*

His master, Don Bentura Orueta.

*Question.*

What was it that he took to trade with the Indians?

*Reply.*

Two flasks of brandy and a keg of liquor.

*Question.*

For what did he trade the liquor?

*Reply.*

For some pelts.

*Question.*

Did he not know that it was prohibited to trade in liquors with the Indians?

*Reply.*

Yes, but he is a slave, and is compelled to do what his master tells him to do.

*Question.*

Has he anything else to say, and what is his age?

*Reply.*

That he has nothing else to say, and his age is thirty years.

After his declaration was read to him he said it is the same as he made, and that he affirms it under the oath he took. On account of not knowing how to write he signed with a cross, to which I the notary, with the Señor Commandant and witnesses, certify.

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)                      X Mark of the NEGRO SEZAR  
ANSELME LA JEUNESSE (Rubric)              X Mark of PEDRO SANDELA  
MAGIN ALEU (Rubric)

At the aforesaid fort, on the same day, month, and year, I, Don Josef Valliere, commandant of the said fort and its district, in consequence of the declarations of the Negroes named Luis and Sezar, slaves of Don Bentura Orueta, certify that it is true that he sent them to trade those liquors with the Abeniqui Indians and I inform Your Lordship of the results.

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA  
May 31, 1787<sup>1a</sup>

Statement made by the *Cantaduría Principal* of the Army and of this province of Louisiana in compliance with royal order of September 6, 1786, transmitted through this Intendency General, of all the disbursements made by the Departments of Royal Exchequer from January 1, 1766, to the end of 1785, divided into two decennials, to wit:

Decennials	Years	Allotment	Extraordinary	Marine	Friendship of the Indian Population	Fines Forfeited to the Exchequer	Total	The two Decennials
First .....	1766	227,992	28,688.6	17,633			274,313.6	10,512,120.12
	1767	961,052.6	61,484	84,292	60,292		1,167,120.6	
	1768	918,202	288,636	113,268	23,072		1,322,178	
	1769	1,444,243	423,472	194,952	19,664		2,082,331	
	1770	969,768	293,040	66,796	24,304		1,263,908	
	1771	801,854	25,804		32,599		860,257	
	1772	876,960	15,785		45,387	1,949	940,081	
	1773	806,390	7,118		31,253	369	845,130	
	1774	802,887	43,076		36,212	1,510	883,685	
	1775	810,451	28,614		38,052		872,117	
Second .....	1776	803,018.12	149,024		21,085.32	1,391	874,519.10	37,398,051.10
	1777	790,833	114,953		109,453	2,274	1,017,613	
	1778	848,721	286,174		148,066	3,992	1,286,453	
	1779	1,317,534	2,094,424		1,028,544	6,455	4,947,157	
	1780	1,387,597	2,048,131		653,050	4,621	4,103,399	
	1781	2,487,272	3,389,166		857,969	411	6,734,818	
	1782	1,786,907	1,463,345		2,136,902	410	5,389,564	
	1783	1,734,328	1,425,227		968,241		4,127,796	
	1784	1,707,894	951,065		1,586,917		4,245,876	
	1785	2,341,752	1,986,352		762,852		5,090,956	
		23,937,355.18	14,888,578.6	476,941	8,583,914	23,382	47,910,171.22	47,910,171.22

NOTES: In the general summary there are included all the amounts which have been drawn by this Treasury on those of Havana, Vera Cruz and Mexico, excepting only five hundred *tercios* of flour and three hundred of *menestron*, which, at the request of the Governor of this Province, were shipped from the Fort of Vera Cruz in 1780.  
NEW ORLEANS, May 31, 1787.

JOSEPH DE ORUE (Rubric)

<sup>1a</sup> AGL, P.C, leg. 597. Amounts are in *reales de plata*.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*June 1, 1787*<sup>143</sup>

No. 354.

At this very moment a Chickasaw Indian presented himself and, with lively and excited demonstrations, announced to me that he had news of the greatest consequence to communicate to me. I admitted him immediately, and his preliminary act was to spread out a bundle of cloth from which he took a collar. Three parts of the collar were made of white beads and the rest of mixed white and black. He next crossed them to represent that the roads were closed by his enemies. He then made me the following speech, with the difference that it seemed to me necessary to abbreviate it and express only the substance of it.

"The Great Chief Takapoumas, my uncle, and faithful son and friend of his fathers, the Spaniards, has sent me in all haste to bring to you this collar which never lies, and which I bring without any pecuniary interest, but only with that of saving the Spaniards. You know that the Americans have introduced themselves in great numbers into the villages of the Chickasaws, to whom they made large presents of all kinds. Half of the Chickasaws accepted them and received their medals and red knives; but the other half refused them, saying they did not have or want to have any other fathers than the Spaniards, and that if the Americans did not retire immediately, they would kill them. Three of the Choctaw villages of the Large Part also received the medals and red knives from the Americans who are preparing to come this year and attack this fort and take possession of this district."

"He had been informed that the Americans have six thousand armed men stationed at the Iron Mine, where they were building three forts, and he did not doubt that at any moment we might be attacked by them, since there are many boats ready to go down. He adds that in any case we would have all the Indians except half of the Chickasaws. These may now have been destroyed by the confederated league just formed by the Talapoosas, to whom he had carried the collar, in conjunction with the other half of the Chickasaws, the Shawnees, Lobos, Cherokees, and Abenauquis. These last named nations were to unite and descend this Mississippi River as far as Chickasaw Bluffs, in order to surprise and destroy the Americans established on it and all the Chickasaws at present with them. It was their concerted project to intercept all the boats that go up to Ylinueses, leaving at the same time the Talapoosas to make attacks in the rear and ruin all the villages that have taken sides with the Americans."

"In short, such is the commotion that, on the same day he departed, his uncle Takapoumas set out to carry this news to the commandant of Mobile, while he himself, at the risk of being killed by his enemies, directed his steps to the Yazoo River, where he embarked in a small pirogue in which he came down to this place to bring me this information. He had met all the boats which go up to Ylinueses, and had told their masters of the danger to which they would be exposed if they continued the voyage. He ended by saying that war between the Talapoosas and the Chickasaws was unavoidable because the latter had killed six of the former."

Despite the many questions I put to this envoy I have not been able to clear up anything in all that he told me, for he contradicted himself every instant so that I did not and do not give any credence to his information. I do believe that there may be some hostilities going on between the Talapoosas and the Chickasaws, but not such a conflagration as he wishes to have us believe. Nevertheless I have bestowed upon him a small present, and he is to return, not to his village where he says he fears he will be killed by his enemies, but to one of the Choctaw villages to remain until the belligerent nations are pacified.

The bearer, who has just arrived with the others mentioned in the passport issued by Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Cruzat, tells me that there is no such number of Americans at the Iron Mine. He says the only news is that the Indians are carrying on a lively war with the Americans, and that he met a large boat and two pirogues a little farther down below the mouth of the Ohio River. Being hailed by them he went ashore where he learned that there was an American general on board the launch who was going to New Orleans. Furthermore, he met a pirogue above Chickasaw Bluffs, and the people on board it told him that some days previously two flat boats had entered the Bayou à Margot loaded with Americans who intended to establish themselves in its valleys; but he did not see them because they had gone into the interior of the bayou.

These two pieces of information came to me a quarter of an hour apart, but I do not for that reason have any suspicion of hostilities on the part of the Americans in view of the last news which I had through an inhabitant of this district. He had heard it said in the villages of the Indians by the English living there that several American merchants and traders had just arrived for the purpose of establishing trade with the Indians, and that their proceedings and conduct were pacific and honest. So I think that this army to

which the Indian refers is nothing more than some traders seeking their fortune.

God keep your Lordship many years.

FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *June 1, 1787.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FORSTALL TO MIRÓ

*June 10, 1787*<sup>144</sup>

OPELOUSAS, *10th of June, 1787.*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I have the honor of informing you that M. de Clouet has turned over to me the command of this post on the 7th of this month, after my staying here twenty days without knowing the reason for this delay. He is still working on the papers that he is to give to me. As soon as I shall have received them I shall let you know about it, as well as about anything new that may happen. Up to now everything seems very quiet and the inhabitants seem to be faithful. However, there has been a rumor that you have allowed a large number of Talapoosa savages to come to settle at this post. I do not want to leave you in ignorance of the fear that they have here that this news may be true. I would be quite pleased, my dear Governor, if you should inform me as to the truth of the matter so that I may tell the inhabitants of this country.

The tobacco and indigo crops are getting along fine, and there is evidence that, if nothing happens, they will be quite magnificent. I hope so, as much in the interests of the growers as for my own satisfaction.

I have had some savages who came to sing me the calumet, and I hope it does not happen again because it involves expense for men I care nothing about. They told me that they had not received the presents which had been promised to them formerly and which were given to other nations. One of them, who I am told deserves a medal, has asked me to speak to you about it so that he may obtain it. If the request is not indiscreet, I flatter myself that with your countenance I shall have the satisfaction of giving it to him on your behalf. I hope that when you may receive any news you will be so good as to tell me about it as you have been kind enough to promise me, especially if it is favorable to you, as that is the kind that interests me most. I beg you to believe this fully, and also to believe that I am, with the most respectful attachment and the most sincere

<sup>144</sup> BL, (French).



friendship, my dear Governor, your most humble and most obedient servant,

FORSTALL (Rubric)

P. S. Allow me to request you to present to Madame de Miró, my dear *commère*, the assurance of my respectful homage.

M. DE MIRÓ, *Governor general*.

INVESTIGATION OF BENITO VASQUEZ' ACTIVITIES AMONG THE  
GREAT OSAGE

June 22, 1787<sup>145</sup>

In the town of St. Louis in Ylinueses on the 22nd day of the month of June in the year 1787, I Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet colonel of infantry, commandant and lieutenant governor of this western section and district of Ylinueses, accompanied by the official witnesses, Don Pedro Francisco de Volsey, knight of the Order of St. Louis and aid to the lieutenant governor of these settlements, and Don Andres Fagot, a resident of this aforementioned town, have questioned witnesses in regard to the conduct of Benito Vasquez among the Osage Indians. This procedure was in compliance with the order which I had received from Señor Don Estevan Miró, colonel of the royal establishments and governor general of this province of Louisiana, under date of the 24th of January of this current year. His order demands that I take an official declaration relative to the information contained in a letter written by Don Jacobo Du Breüil, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry and commandant of the fort of Carlos III of Arkansas, under date of December 29 of last year, 1786, to the aforesaid governor, in which he gives information as to the conduct of Don Benito Vasquez, lieutenant of one of the companies of militia of this town of St. Louis, with the Osage Indians who were settled on the upper waters of the Arkansas River, their seditious and threatening behavior, and the critical circumstances under which the governor was struggling in order to bring about peace among the Indian tribes to the end of protecting the province.

I have caused to be brought before me in the presence of the aforementioned official witnesses the aforesaid Don Benito Vasquez, and having made him place his right hand on the hilt of his sword, I asked him if upon his word of honor he swore to God and promised the King to tell the truth on the points concerning which I was about to question him.

*Answer.*

He swore and promised.

*Question.*

What is his name, what religion does he profess, of what place is he a native, and how long has he been settled in this country?

*Answer.*

He is named Don Benito Vasquez, his religion is the Apostolic Roman Catholic, he is a native of the city of Santiago, kingdom of Galicia, and has been settled in this town for fourteen years.

*Question.*

What has been his employment for the last four years?

*Answer.*

For the past three years he has been employed in trading with the Great Osage nation, in virtue of the permission granted to him by this government for this purpose.

*Question.*

What propositions or counsel has he offered to the Indians of that nation in all the time that he has lived with them, and what persons have been in authority? Finally, let him make a personal relation of all the happenings in order to arrive at a knowledge of the facts.

*Answer.*

About the month of September of 1784 he set out from this town and arrived at the Great Osage nation at the end of October, where he remained during all the winter awaiting the return of the Indians who had gone out on a hunt. They returned in the month of March, 1785, together with the same Indians who had promised to settle on the banks of the Arkansas, and a chief who had been appointed by Don Jacobo Du Breuil. Because of this, the principal chiefs of the Osage nation, named Clermon and Juan Lafon, with many other influential persons of the nation, were exceedingly displeased and it was the cause of much discord among them. The aforesaid witness wrote to Don Jacobo Du Breuil relating all that had occurred on this journey from the time of his departure. He stated that he arrived in this town in the month of June, and that in that same year in the month of August, he set out again for the Osage nation, where he arrived on the 5th of September, and held a meeting with the principal chiefs and other influential persons therein, by verbal orders of Don Francisco Cruzat, commandant and lieutenant governor of these settlements. There he also met the two chiefs whom the governor had named in New Orleans to settle on the upper waters of the Arkansas River. He presented the chiefs at the council with a letter and a calumet which the aforementioned gentleman delivered to him, by means of which he said to them that they should make peace with all the nations of the Missouri with whom they were at war.

Having received information that two boats loaded with tallow had been stolen from the French hunters on the Arkansas River, the witness reprimanded them bitterly, demanding why they should commit such depredations in a place where they themselves had asked to be allowed to settle. To this they made no answer. The witness then said that in the month of April of the year 1786 he received a copy which Don Francisco Cruzat had sent to him of the order he had received from the governor. It is the same one which he presents. To this end he had ordered brought together the two principal chiefs of the nation and the two chiefs of the small medal whom the governor had named for the party which was to settle on the Arkansas River. He explained to them the aforementioned order and reprimanded them for having deceived the governor by telling him that they had settled on the aforesaid river, and for stealing from the French hunters who were in that place. They then replied that they had not promised their father to settle on that river, and that undoubtedly it had been the interpreter who, upon his own responsibility, had so stated.

At this very time the witness received a letter which was written to him by the commissary of Mr. Bugó in which he stated that the principal chief of the Osage nation, named Juan Lafon, had given the lie in open meeting to the two chiefs settled on the aforesaid river in regard to what they said about the witness having evil intentions towards them, as appears in the accompanying letter which the witness presents. In the month of May he set out from the Osage nation in order to come to this town, where he arrived on the 20th of the aforesaid month, without having had any other discussion with the aforesaid Indians. About the month of August he again set out from this town for the nation of the Great Osages in company with the traders, Don Santiago Chovin, Don Carlos Tayon, brevet sub-lieutenant of infantry, Joseph Ribar, and Luis Chevallier. Having arrived at a place called Ñangá, and not finding sufficient water in the river to take the pirogues up to the village, they decided to camp in that place, which is at a distance of sixty leagues from the Osage village. The witness decided to go up in a small canoe to the place where the aforementioned nation is settled. Having done this, he found that all the Indians had already left for the hunt eight or ten days before.

This caused him to decide to return at once by land to the site of Ñangá, where he remained until he sold the merchandise which he had with him to one of the Frenchmen who were in the Great Osage nation. He then returned immediately to this town, where he arrived at the beginning of October and here he remained until the 2nd of April when he again left to seek payment for the mer-

chandise he had sold. He arrived at the end of the same month of April at the Great Osage nation where he had a meeting with the principal chiefs and head men of the place by order of Don Francisco Cruzat. At the meeting the aforesaid Don Carlos Tayon, Don Santiago Chovin, and Luis Chevallier were present. He told the Indians at this meeting that their great father of the city of New Orleans was exceedingly displeased with them because of their evil deeds on the Arkansas River and with the nations of the Caddos, Pawnees, and other different tribes in the district of Natchitoches and New Spain, for they had not kept their promise of peace with the Caddo nation, given in his presence. He assured them that, if they did not endeavor to give to the governor the requisite satisfaction, sending one or two chiefs to New Orleans, they might rest assured that all aid would be withheld from them, both from the region of Arkansas and from that of Ylinueses.

One of the chiefs who was to have settled on the Arkansas River (the other one having died that winter) replied that the road to the Arkansas was blocked, because they had just killed two Frenchmen at Ouachita, for which reason he gave him his left hand because his right hand was bloody. The witness replied to this by asking whether they did not bear in mind the agreement made with the commandant of the Ylinueses, Don Pedro Piernas, whereby they obligated themselves to give a head for a head whenever they dared to commit any such acts. They made no reply, and the principal chief of the nation, Juan Lafon, said that he could not answer for whatever the Arkansas party did, but only for that which his nation might do in the country of the Ylinueses. Then the council ended. These are all the discussions he has had with the aforesaid Osages in the different times that he has been in that nation.

*Question.*

When he went up from the place called Ñangá to the village of the Osages, had he had some talks with some Indians who had remained in the village with regard to the Arkansas settlement?

*Answer.*

When he arrived at the said village he had not found, as he had said, any Indians except the very old ones who could not go out to hunt, and the women and children who had remained to watch over the maize, and that consequently, not a word was said to them relative to the Arkansas; but on returning by land to the aforesaid site of Ñangá he had found a party of Indians with the great chief of the nation. The chief's name was Clermon. The witness told them that the Arkansas group need not hope to find any merchandise that year on that river since the governor was greatly displeased with them because of the manner in which they had conducted themselves with

the Caddos, for they had failed to keep the promise of peace which they had made in his presence. The aforementioned great chief replied to this that he was satisfied if this were the case, in order that he might ascertain whether in this way they could live more peaceably and not commit so much devilment as they had been perpetrating.

*Question.*

In the aforementioned party of the great chief were there any Indians of the Arkansas group?

*Answer.*

There were some of those who had been there the year before and particularly three or four brothers of the aforementioned great chief.

*Question.*

Had he said anything else to the aforesaid party?

*Answer.*

Nothing else was said.

*Question.*

How is it that he states that he had said nothing else to them when from the information given by the brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry and commandant of the fort of Carlos III of Arkansas, Jacobo Du Breuil, under date of December 29th, 1786, to the governor general of this province, Don Estevan Miró, he had said to the aforementioned Indians the following:

“My children, I am bringing to you four pirogues filled with goods, but there is so little water in this river (referring to that of the Osage) that I have been compelled to stop sixty leagues from your village. I then decided to come here in a canoe in order to inform you that your great father in New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas so that through that river they may make war against you. I, therefore, warn you that it would be ill-advised for you to go to hunt there for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of the Ylinueses is more benevolent, and, as he loves you all, he has sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas.”

*Answer.*

These charges against him are untrue; he never has had any such discussions with the Indians, and he only affirms and ratifies that which he has already said, as may be confirmed by the men named Luis Darrac, Josef Rivar, and Baptista Mongren, who acted as interpreters for him upon all the occasions noted. In further proof that all which has been said against him is untrue, the witness said that only one boat belonged to him. All the rest belonged to the other

traders who were with him, whom he has named. He neither saw nor spoke with any of the chiefs of the district of Arkansas.

*Question.*

Has he anything further to say, and what is his age?

*Answer.*

He has nothing else to say, and he is forty-nine years of age. This declaration having been read to him, he states that it is the same as he has given under oath, and the aforesaid commandant and lieutenant governor and the aforesaid official witnesses signed it with me.

VOLSEY

BENITO VASQUEZ (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

Since it is indispensable to have declarations taken from the different individuals whom Don Benito Vasquez names in his declaration, and as these do not know the Spanish language, I have named as official interpreter Emilian Yosti. He has accepted this charge and has promised to execute it faithfully and legally in virtue of the oath made in due form, for which has been issued the necessary document. The aforesaid commandant and lieutenant governor has signed it with me, as well as the official witnesses.

DE VOLSEY

EMILIAN YOSTI (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>co</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

I immediately ordered Don Santiago Chovin to appear before me in the presence of the official witnesses, and having asked him by means of an interpreter if he took the oath before God and promised the King to tell the truth concerning the matter upon which he was to be questioned, he replied that he took the oath and promised.

*Question.*

What is his name, of what place is he a native, what religion does he profess, and where has he been employed for the last two years?

*Answer.*

He replied that his name is Don Santiago Chovin. He is a native of the city of New Orleans and his religion is the Apostolic Roman Catholic. For the past two years he has been employed, with permission of this government, in trading in the nation of the Great Osages.

*Question.*

When did he leave this town in order to go up to the aforesaid nation, how long did he remain therein, in whose company did he go up, what talk did he hear among the Indians concerning the Arkansas River? And finally, let him make an exact account of everything that happened to him and everything he heard relative to this matter.

*Answer.*

In the month of August of last year he left this town in com-

pany with Don Benito Vasquez, Josef Rivar, Don Carlos Tayon, Josef Ortiz, and Luis Chevallier, with the permission which had been granted by the commandant of these settlements, Don Francisco Cruzat, in order to trade in the Great Osage nation. Continuing their journey, they arrived at a place called Ñangá on the 15th or 20th of September, which place was sixty leagues distant from the Osage village. Seeing that it was impossible to continue by boat because of the lack of water in the river of the Great Osage, the witness, and Josef Rivar determined (in the absence of the others, who had remained behind, having been unable to follow them) that Don Benito Vasquez should leave for the village in a small canoe to advise the Indians that the traders were at that place, being prevented from continuing by boat because of lack of water, and at the same time to bring back some foodstuffs, which they now needed.

Don Benito Vasquez, after making the trip, found upon his arrival at the village that all the Indians had already left for the hunt. Because of this the aforesaid Vasquez returned by land to the aforementioned post of Ñangá. He told them, the witness, and Joseph Rivar, that the French who were at the aforesaid village had told him that the Great Osages were causing such great disturbances on the Arkansas River that there was no probability that the French would go to that place that year. During the time that Don Benito Vasquez was on his mission, there arrived at the place of Ñangá the second principal chief of the nation, named Juan Lafon. He told the witness that on the Arkansas River the young men of his nation had done considerable damage which caused him much sorrow, especially as he felt that, on his part, it could not be remedied.

The witness (speaking with one of the chiefs who had been in New Orleans and who was then present) replied to this by asking whether they did not know of, or whether they did not remember the peace which they had made with the Caddo nation in the presence of the governor, and the promise which they had given that they would live in perfect union and harmony with all the nations, not alone of Arkansas but also of Natchitoches and New Spain; for all are vassals and dependents of our Catholic monarch, may God preserve him. The aforementioned chief, Juan Lafon, replied (because the chief from the Arkansas district did nothing more than bow his head without saying a word) that it was not in his power to remedy such depredations, and that he had had no part whatever in them.

*Question.*

Had he not heard Don Benito Vasquez say, when he returned by land from the village of the Great Osages to Ñangá, in order to meet with the witness and Josef Rivar, that he had encountered

on the road the principal chief named Clermon, with a party of his nation?

*Answer.*

He does not remember that Don Benito Vasquez had ever told him any thing about having encountered the aforementioned chief or any party of the Indians of the aforesaid nation.

*Question.*

Has he any information or does he know that Don Benito Vasquez has ever told the Indians of the aforesaid nation, either in public council or privately, the following:

"My children, I am bringing you four pirogues filled with goods, but there is so little water in this river (referring to that of the Osage) that I have been compelled to stop sixty leagues from your village. I then decided to come here in a canoe in order to inform you that your great father in New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas so that through that river they may war against you. I, therefore, warn you that it would be ill-advised for you to go to hunt there, for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of Ylinueses is more benevolent, and, as he loves you all, he has sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas."

*Answer.*

He has no information whatever that Don Benito Vasquez has made any such statements to the Indians, nor has he heard it said by any of those who were there at that time, but rather, on the contrary; for he knows, since he was present, that Don Benito Vasquez said to the Indians of the aforementioned nation, in a council which he held in the month of April by order of Don Francisco Cruzat, which was attended by all the principal chiefs and those who were to settle on the Arkansas River, that the governor was exceedingly displeased with them because they had not kept the promise made to him. He informed them that, if they did not render the necessary satisfaction and alter their manner of acting, they could be sure the governor would deprive them of all aid from Ylinueses and from any other place and cause them thus to perceive the respect and subordination which they owed to the government.

*Question.*

Has he anything further to say, add or detract, and what is his age?

*Answer.*

He has not, and he is forty-five years of age. This declaration having been read to him by means of an interpreter, he stated under oath that it was true. The aforesaid commandant and lieutenant



governor, with the official witnesses and the interpreter, signed it with me.

DE VOLSEY

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

JACQUE CHAUVIN (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

EMILIAN YOSTI (Rubric)

On the same day, month and year, I the commandant and lieutenant governor referred to, caused to come before me, in the presence of the aforesaid official witnesses, Don Carlos Tayon, brevet sub-lieutenant of infantry and sub-lieutenant of one of the companies of militia of this town of St. Louis, and having caused him to place his right hand upon the hilt of his sword, I asked him by means of an interpreter if upon his word of honor he made oath to God and promised the King to tell the truth on the point upon which he was to be questioned.

*Answer.*

He took the oath and promised.

*Question.*

What is his name, what religion does he profess, of what place is he a native, and what is his employment?

*Answer.*

His name is Don Carlos Tayon, he is Apostolic Roman Catholic, a native of this country of the Ylinueses, and has been employed as an officer of one of the companies of militia of this town for the last nine years; and he is at the same time brevet sub-lieutenant of infantry by the favor conferred by his Majesty in the year 1781.

*Question.*

In what capacity has he been employed by this government for the last two years?

*Answer.*

About the month of August of last year, he left this town in company with Don Benito Vasquez, Don Santiago Chovin, Josef Ribar, and Luis Chevallier, under permission granted by the commandant and lieutenant governor of these settlements, Don Francisco Cruzat, for the purpose of going to trade with the nation of the Great Osages. Starting the journey all together, they continued it until they reached the place called Nangá, situated on the river of the Great Osage, where they all camped because they were unable to continue by boat, owing to low water in the river. Because of this the witness decided to go by land up to the village of the aforesaid nation in order to bring back foodstuffs of which they were in need. Just as he was about to start on his journey, the second principal chief of the aforesaid Osages, named Juan Lafon, arrived with several other Indians of that nation. The chief said that in

that year none of his nation would go to the river of Arkansas, because those who had been there that summer or spring had committed depredations, robbing and killing all whom they could find. This finished, the witness set out on his way, and on the road he met Don Benito Vasquez who was returning from the village (for he had left there before the witness left Nangá). The latter told him that within a few hours he would meet the principal chief of the nation, named Clermon, with a large party of his nation (which, as a matter of fact, happened) and that he was coming to supply himself from the traders who were in Nangá. Because of this the witness continued his journey to the village, and the aforesaid chief to the destination mentioned.

*Question.*

Upon arrival at the village of the Great Osages had he heard any Indian, Indian woman, or white person in that village say that Don Benito Vasquez had given them any information bearing on the Arkansas River and of the measures which the governor wished to take against them?

*Answer.*

He had not heard anyone say that Don Benito Vasquez had made any statement whatever relative to this matter.

*Question.*

In all the time that he had remained in the aforesaid nation had he heard it said, or had he been present when Don Benito Vasquez had any council with the Indians of the aforementioned nation, particularly when he was said to have made the following speech:

"My children, I am bringing you four pirogues filled with goods, but there is so little water in this river (referring to that of the Osage) that I have been compelled to stop sixty leagues from your village. I had then decided to come here in a canoe in order to inform you that your great father in New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas, so that through that river they may war upon you. I, therefore, warn you that it would be ill-advised for you to go to hunt there, for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of Ylinueses is more benevolent, and, as he loves you all, he has sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas."

*Answer.*

During all the time that he has been among the Great Osages he has never heard either the Indians or any white person say that Don Benito Vasquez made any such statement, but rather on the contrary he has urged them to keep the peace and harmony which ought to reign between the Arkansas nation and that of the Osages. This

is the belief of the witness, since he had served Vasquez upon various occasions as interpreter. Because he had spent the winter in the aforesaid nation and was acquainted with their language, he had learned that in the month of March the two chiefs whom the governor had named in New Orleans had arrived at the Osage village. They came from the post of Carlos III of Arkansas, with several more of those Indians who had promised to settle on the Arkansas River. These Indians made the following statement to the witness:

They were fleeing from the aforementioned post of Arkansas because one of the head men of the Arkansas nation had told them that Don Jacobo Du Breuil was exceedingly displeased with them, and that it was true that he had sent Francisco Martin to seek them and take them to New Orleans in order to transport them from there to the other side of the sea, and punish them by death for the robberies and murders committed on the Arkansas River, and also because they had failed to keep the promise of peace which they had made with the Caddos. He therefore advised them to retire or escape quickly. Because of this, and because Don Jacobo Du Breuil had not spoken a word to them during the three days which they had been in that post, notwithstanding the fact that the Indians asked him to speak to them, they determined to hasten their flight, availing themselves of the darkness of the night, which they in fact did.

*Question.*

Had he been present at the council which Don Benito Vasquez had held in the month of April with the chiefs of the Great Osage nation, and what were the things which Vasquez had said to them?

*Answer.*

He had been present at the aforesaid council, and had been one of the interpreters whom Don Benito Vasquez had there (in the council) and he had told them that he had brought them together by order of the commandant of the Ylinueses, Don Francisco Cruzat, in order to communicate to them the news that the governor was exceedingly displeased with them because they had failed to keep the promise they had made to him and to maintain peace with the Caddos, Arkansas, and also the Indians of the dependency of Natchitoches. He informed them that, if they did not endeavor to give him the satisfaction required, they might be assured that he would take the necessary steps to make them understand their evil manner of acting and realize that they had not kept their word, by depriving them of all aid from Ylinueses, as well as from the Arkansas.

*Question.*

Has he anything further to say, and what is his age?

*Answer.*

He has not, and he is twenty-seven years of age.

His declaration having been read to him by means of an interpreter, he stated that it was exactly as made, and that upon his word of honor he affirmed it and the aforesaid commandant and lieutenant governor, the official witnesses and the interpreter signed it with me.

DE VOLSEY

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)  
FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric).

CHARLE TAYON (Rubric),  
EMILIAN YOSTI (Rubric),

I, the said commandant and lieutenant governor, immediately ordered Josef Rivar to appear before me in the presence of the official witnesses, and having made him raise his right hand and make with it the sign of the cross, I asked him through an interpreter if he made an oath before God and promised the King to tell the truth on the point upon which he was going to be questioned.

*Answer.*

He made oath and promised.

*Question.*

What is his name, of what place is he a native, what religion does he profess, what position does he hold, and how long has he been in this country?

*Answer.*

He said his name is Josef Rivar, that he is a native of Three Rivers of the province of Canada; that he is Apostolic Roman Catholic, and that his business is that of trader with the Indian nations. He has been in this country for thirty-four years.

*Question.*

In what has he been employed for the past two years?

*Answer.*

Last year he had set out from this town of St. Louis in the month of August with the permission which had been granted to him by Don Francisco Cruzat in order to go and trade a cargo of four thousand pounds of merchandise with the Great Osage nation, in company with Don Benito Vasquez, Don Santiago Chovin, Don Carlos Tayon, Josef Ortiz, and Luis Chevallier. They had arrived at a place called Ñangá, where, because of lack of water in the river, they had found it necessary to make camp, sixty leagues distant from the aforementioned village of the Osages. After three days the witness and Don Santiago Chovin had decided that Don Benito Vasquez should go up in a small canoe to the village to inform the Indians how impossible it was to go up with the boats laden with merchandise to the aforesaid village, and with the object that the Indians might come down and supply themselves with ammunition and other necessary articles for trade. Benito Vasquez undertook this journey, consuming on the entire trip twelve days.

In the interval the second principal chief of the nation, named Juan Lafon, had arrived at the site of Ñangá together with several other important persons and Indians of the same nation. Lafon informed them that there was no probability of any Indian of his nation going that year to the Arkansas River, because those who had been there that spring had done all the damage they could both to the French and to the Indians. The witness, as well as Don Santiago Chovin, reprimanded him, reminding him that the commandant of the Ylinueses had advised them to keep the peace and not inflict any injury upon any Frenchman or Indian of the river of Arkansas, but rather look upon them as their brothers, the same as they did with those of Ylinueses.

*Question.*

Does he know or has he heard it said that Don Benito Vasquez made any statements to the Indians when he went up to the village?

*Answer.*

He has not heard it said that Don Benito Vasquez told the Indians any other thing except that they should keep the peace and endeavor to carry on their hunting to the best advantage.

*Question.*

Had he not heard Don Benito Vasquez tell, when he returned from the village by land to the place of Ñangá, of having met on the road the first principal chief of the nation, by the name of Clermon, with several other Indians and headmen thereof, and of having had some talk with them.

*Answer.*

Don Benito Vasquez, upon his arrival at Ñangá, told them that he had met on the trip the aforementioned principal chief Clermon, with several other Indians and headmen of the nation. Clermon had told him that he did not believe any one would go that winter to trade on the river of Arkansas because of the very great damage done by those who had been there last spring.

*Question.*

What was the answer of Don Benito Vasquez to the aforementioned chief when he told him such things?

*Answer.*

He does not know nor has he heard anyone say anything to anybody.

*Question.*

Has he any information as to whether Don Benito Vasquez told the Indians of the aforesaid nation, either in public council or privately, the following or similar things which might influence the Great Osages against those who are settled on the Arkansas River and the other nations of Indians of the Natchitoches district or those of New Spain:

"My children, I am bringing you four pirogues filled with goods, but there is so little water in this river (speaking of that of the Osage) that I have been compelled to stop sixty leagues from your village. I then decided to come here in a canoe in order to inform you that your great father in New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas, so that through that river they may make war upon you. I therefore warn you that it would be ill-advised for you to go to hunt there, for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of Ylinueses is more benevolent, and, as he loves you all, he has sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas."

*Answer.*

He has never heard the Osage Indians nor any others say that Don Benito Vasquez made any such statements, but that rather on the contrary, when upon different occasions he served him as interpreter, he heard him advise them to live in the greatest peace and harmony with the merchants and hunters of the river of Arkansas, as well as with the Indians, treating them as their brothers and as subjects of the same King.

*Question.*

Whether he was present at the council which Don Benito Vasquez had in the month of April of this year with the chiefs and influential men of the aforesaid nation, and what was said by the aforesaid Vasquez and what was the reply of the Indians?

*Answer.*

He was not present at the said council because he had already left in order to come to this town.

*Question.*

Has he anything further to say and what is his age?

*Answer.*

He has nothing further to say and he is fifty-two years of age.

This declaration having been read to him by means of the interpreter, he said it was as made and so affirms under oath taken. Declaring that he does not know how to write, he made the usual mark of the cross, in the presence of the aforesaid commandant and lieutenant governor and the aforementioned official witnesses and the interpreter.

Sign of the cross

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ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

DE VOLSEY (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

of JOSEF RIVAR

EMILIAN YOSTI (Rubric)

On the 23rd day of the same month and year, I, the commandant

and lieutenant governor ordered Luis Darrac to appear before me, in the presence of the official witnesses, and having ordered him to raise his right hand and make the sign of the cross, I asked him through an interpreter if he made oath to God and promised the King to tell the truth on the matter upon which he was to be questioned.

*Answer.*

He took oath and promised.

*Question.*

What is his name, of what place is he a native, what religion does he profess, what business does he follow, and how long has he resided in this country?

*Answer.*

His name is Luis Darrac; he is a native of the city of Montreal, province of Canada; his religion is Apostolic Roman Catholic; his business is that of hunter; and he has resided in this country for seven years.

*Question.*

How has he been employed for the last two years?

*Answer.*

He has been hunting on the river of the Great Osage.

*Question.*

Is he acquainted with Don Benito Vasquez; has he seen him in the nation of the Great Osage; has he been present at some of the councils which Vasquez may have had with the Indians, either in public or privately? Does he know if the aforesaid Vasquez gave them information of the action taken by the governor relative to the outrages which the aforementioned Indians were committing on the river of Arkansas? Finally, let him give a detailed account of everything that he may know relative to this matter.

*Answer.*

He knows Don Benito Vasquez very well because he has seen him upon different occasions in the Great Osage nation, and because the witness has served him as interpreter in various councils, both public and private, which he has had with the aforesaid Indians, in which he learned that Don Benito Vasquez advised them never to do any wrong to the whites or Indians whom they might find on the Arkansas River, but that they should consider them as real brothers and dependents of the Spanish government. This recommendation he particularly made them in a general council which he held in the aforesaid nation with all the principal chiefs and headmen thereof, this last spring, in which the witness acted as interpreter. Having learned of the outrages committed (for he had received such news), in which two white men had been killed at the place called Ouachita, sixty or seventy leagues away from the fort of Arkansas, and of the

stealing from different hunters whom they had met, he reprimanded them bitterly, demanding whether they had not given the governor their promise to keep the peace on the river of the Arkansas. He reminded them of the agreement which they had made with Don Pedro Piernas of giving a head for a head, whenever they committed any such outrages. To this the principal chief of the aforesaid nation and several other headmen replied (because the chiefs of the party which was to establish itself on the Arkansas did not wish to be present) that they had had no part whatever in the aforesaid outrages, nor had they made any agreement to settle on the said river. They said that they recalled perfectly the agreement which they had made with Don Pedro Piernas, and that it was not a difficult matter to deliver up the persons who had committed the murders; for it was better that they should suffer the punishment than that the whole nation should suffer it. On the following day the two chiefs, together with several other Indians of the Arkansas group, asked Don Benito Vasquez for a private conference. He complied with their request and they told him that upon one occasion, when the governor had ordered them to come down to New Orleans, and when they begged the commandant of the Ylinueses to permit them to go through this district of the Ylinueses because they did not dare to pass through the Arkansas territory on account of the damages and injuries which they had committed there, the aforesaid Vasquez replied that he saw no objection whatever to their going down through any place that they wished, so long as they delivered themselves up at New Orleans to render the requisite satisfaction to the governor.

*Question.*

Has he any knowledge as to whether Don Benito Vasquez ever said to the Osage Indians, either in public council or privately, the following:

"My children, I am bringing you four pirogues filled with goods, but there is so little water in this river (referring to that of the Osage) that I have been compelled to stop sixty leagues from your village. I then decided to come here in a canoe in order to inform you that your great father in New Orleans has sent an army of whites and Indians to the post of Arkansas so that through that river they may make war on you. I, therefore, warn you that it would be ill-advised to go to hunt there, for whoever goes will certainly be killed. The commandant of Ylinueses is more benevolent, and, as he loves you all, he has sent me with the merchandise which I bring in order to aid you, and so that I may warn you of the plans being made at the post of Arkansas."

*Answer.*

In all the time that he has been in the nation of the Great Osages he has never heard either from the whites or the Indians (notwith-



standing his being acquainted with the language of the latter) that Don Benito Vasquez has ever made any such statement to the Indians, nor has he heard of any others made by him which could be prejudicial to the peace and good harmony which ought to reign between those who inhabit the banks of the Arkansas. Since the witness wintered in the aforesaid nation, he knows that in the month of March there arrived at that village two of the chiefs of the Arkansas group who came as fugitives from that fort because they had learned from an Indian woman of the Arkansas nation that the Spaniards wished to send them to New Orleans. With that motive they went to that river, where they found the man named Francisco Martin, alias Cabien the Osage, who told them, after the Indians had asked him where he had the merchandise which he had promised to trade with them, that he had none, as the road was closed because their father had become displeased with them. He suggested that they escape as quickly as possible because he was certain that, if they did not do so, they would be killed by the Arkansas nation. Therefore they had immediately set out on the march during which the Arkansas Indians had killed one of the Indians of the aforesaid party.

*Question.*

Has he anything further to say and what is his age?

*Answer.*

He has nothing further to say and he is twenty-seven years of age.

This declaration having been read to him, he stated it was as made and he so affirmed and ratified it under the oath taken. Not knowing how to write he made the mark of the cross, as is the custom, in the presence of the commandant and lieutenant governor and the aforesaid official witnesses on the same day, month and year, Ut. Supra.

Sign of the cross

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EMILIAN YOSTI (Rubric)

of LUIS DARRAC

DE VOLSEY (Rubric)

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

#### FRANKLIN TO INDIAN DELEGATION

*June 30, 1787*<sup>146</sup>

BROTHERS,

You have a long Journey to take before you can see your beloved Country and your own Home. I pray the Great Spirit to preserve you & conduct you safely.

PHILAD<sup>A</sup>. *June 30, 1787.*

B. FRANKLIN (Rubric)

<sup>146</sup> AGI, PC. Photograph of manuscript with no legajo number indicated.

Who requires all the Citizens of Pensilvania that may happen to meet with Mr. Woods and the Indians under his Care, to treat them with justice, and protect them from Injuries, they being come from far distant & friendly Nations on public Business.

B.F.

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

*July 29, 1787*<sup>147</sup>

No. 108.

By Your Lordship's official letter of the 24th of January of this current year and the copy of the letter written by the commandant of the post of Arkansas, Don Jacobo Du Breuil, which Your Lordship has enclosed, I learned of the conduct of Don Benito Vasquez in regard to the Osage established on the Arkansas River. In consequence of it, and in order to carry out Your Lordship's orders, I took steps immediately on the arrival of Vasquez at this town to secure from him the required legal declaration. When I received Your Lordship's letter, he was absent in the said nation of the Great Osage. From the declaration it appears that at the time when Don Jacobo Du Breuil attributes to him seditious schemes with the Osage, as stated in his aforesaid letter, Vasquez was in that nation with several other traders whom I had named that year to go up together with him and carry on trade.

Without doubt Don Jacobo Du Breuil was ignorant of this circumstance. I thought it better for the thorough investigation of the charge to take the required declarations from the other traders who were with Vasquez, and whom he mentions in his declaration. I am sending these declarations enclosed to Your Lordship, so that you may learn from them how different from the report has been the conduct of Vasquez with the Osage. For my part, I can assure Your Lordship on my word of honor that besides the aforesaid declarations, I have taken others verbally from various persons who were in the nation mentioned at the same time in regard to the same matter, and they have unanimously informed me that they have never heard either from the Indians or the whites that Don Benito Vasquez has ever been concerned in seditious schemes such as Don Jacobo Du Breuil mentions in his aforesaid letter.

Your Lordship is not ignorant of the character of the Indians who are capable, for the petty interest of acquiring a packet of powder, a knife, or some other trifle, of allowing themselves to be made to say that black is white. From this it follows that, since the conduct of the said Francisco Martin has not been nor is now at all laudable, as is well-known in the Ylinueses and is not unknown

<sup>147</sup> BL.

to my predecessor, Don Pedro Piernas, who can inform Your Lordship, I do not think much credence can be given the report which he gave to the commandant of Arkansas, Don Jacobo Du Breuil. Besides this it follows also, as Your Lordship knows, that the greatest glory of the Indians is to do all the harm they can when the opportunity offers, without any need of their being given advice to do it.

From this appears another perfectly clear proof that Don Benito Vasquez has not engaged in such schemes, for it is known to be true that when he arrived at the village of the Osage the two chiefs of the party which had established itself on the Arkansas River had already departed and he did not see them; nor did he speak to them until the next spring when he again went up to collect the peltries to be delivered to him by the commissioner whom he had left there that autumn to trade with the merchandise that he had given him. Your Lordship may rest assured that I on my part have labored and do labor always to keep in tranquillity and good harmony not only this nation but all the others in the district of my command, and that if I have not succeeded in doing so, it has not been for lack of effort on my part and advice which I have given the Indians on every occasion when they have come to see me. This is all that I can tell Your Lordship on the matter.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *July 29, 1787.*

FRAN<sup>CO</sup>. CRUZAT (Rubric)

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

RIVAS TO MIRÓ

*August 13, 1787*<sup>148</sup>

No. 69

The chief called Unzaga Champaña, of the Chitimachá nation, established in the bayou of Plaquemine, presented himself at this fort with an interpreter and a number of his subjects, and informed me that he has learned for certain that the Alibamon nation of the neighborhood of Mobile, allied with the Talapoosa, are coming to attack the Chitimachá and destroy them in their own village, in the beginning of the coming autumn. Not being able to defend themselves against these two large nations on account of their own small number and their lack of guns and ammunition, he and the whole nation beg Your Lordship, as their father and protector, to support and defend them against their enemies, and not permit these to cross the Mississippi. He adds that he himself has not gone down

to communicate with Your Lordship and implore your clemency because of the smallpox. I inform Your Lordship of this for your guidance.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

FORT BUTE DE MANCHAC, *August 13, 1787.*

FRANCISCO RIVAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR GENERAL DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEÑA TO MIRÓ

*August 17, 1787*<sup>140</sup>

No. 32.

In consequence of Your Lordship's letter dated May 14th in which you order me to report if there is any objection to permitting Luis Lepinet to engage in commerce or trade with the Caddo nation while he lives on the Ouachita, with the proper respect I submit the following to Your Lordship:

1. To presume that the Caddo chief Tenioan should have voluntarily given his commission to Lepinet to present to the government as guaranty of his claim, leaves for these same reasons sufficient room to presume that it was Lepinet who prevailed on Tenioan rather than the other way.

2. To believe that it is the Caddo nation which is making the outcry that it cannot get along with the traders from Natchitoches would be incredible. It is well-known that this nation has been among those existing the longest under the jurisdiction of this post, and never has it happened that they have been accused of being quarrelsome with the individuals of the post. It is known to me that they have always been provided with everything they require for the support of their persons and their families until the present time, when, as a result of Your Lordship's not having finally decided that Don Luis Leblan should go there with some merchandise in order to pay off his debts, they are without this aid; nor have I in obedience to your orders, sent any other to them.

3. If the Caddo Indians were not influenced, or attracted by others with advantageous offers, it is clear and evident that none of the dangers of which Your Lordship speaks would exist. There are some who would prevent them from coming to this post as they have always done. The Caddoes have been always more or less under the influence of the people of Natchitoches without there being any difficulty about it as there is now. They have been and, I believe, always will be friendly with these individuals as long as there are no new trouble makers.

4. When this nation presents itself to me, I shall find out if the chief delivered his petition voluntarily to Lepinet, or whether the latter demanded it from the chief for his own individual purposes; and if I find it to be contrary to his statement to Your Lordship, either for this reason, or because he introduced himself into the nation under the jurisdiction of my post without exhibiting or making known his permission from Your Lordship for it, I shall cause him to be arrested and everything belonging to him confiscated. It is a fact that at the very moment you are asking me for this information, Lepinet is established in the village of the Caddoes engaged in trade, deliberately bringing about all sorts of damages, and considerable loss to Captain Don Luis Leblan and others, thus making it impossible for them entirely to clear off their debts. And since he has not bound himself to repay half of these debts, as has been the custom ever since there has been any trade with all the nations, for this same reason he is responsible.

5. In case Your Lordship decides for any reason to grant to the said Lepinet the right to carry on commerce with the Caddo nation of this district while he lives on the Ouachita, you will please bear in mind that the natural rights of property, held for many years up to the present time by the merchants of this post and other individuals in it, merit at present as well as in the future, that they shall not be deprived of the right to enter into the Caddo village to carry on such commerce as is necessary for them, in accordance with the business which they operate and the merchandise which they can provide in favor of that nation. Your Lordship will please bear this in mind in order to prevent difficulties by this measure which may result in the future from neglecting the situation in which the traders find themselves through not having yet paid off their many scattered debts.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *August 17, 1787.*

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

VILLIERS TO MIRÓ

*August 30, 1787*<sup>150</sup>

SEÑOR GOVERNOR: I inform Your Lordship that the great chief named Aviberna with ten Indians presented himself to me and said through the interpreter Francisco Boni that fifteen days from now the Great Chief Franchimastabe would come with one hundred Indians. They say these Indians are not coming to do any harm, but that they are on the road to New Orleans to extend the hand to

the Spaniards and deliver to Your Lordship the medals of the English. Throughout the month of September all the rest of the chiefs are coming for the same purpose. To each party of these Indians it is always necessary for me to give something for their journey, such as maize, brandy, and paints for their dances, although I have given them very little. I have not ventured to do more until I inform Your Lordship to ascertain whether it is your desire that these Indians be given anything.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

GALVEZTOWN, *August 30, 1787.*

MARIOS DE VILLIERS (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR GENERAL ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEÑA TO MIRÓ

*September 22, 1787*<sup>151</sup>

No. 40.

I inform Your Lordship that the following Indian nations have presented themselves before me:

Four Arkansas, all the Yatasí nation, the Nacodoch, and Bidai, on different days. On the 3rd of the present month there appeared before me the great nation of the Caddo and the small one of the same name, with all their chiefs, headmen, warriors, and those of no rank, the number being increased by women and children to eighty.

I received Chief Thenioan of the last named nation, with his headmen, and the chief of the small nation also with his advisor, with all ceremony according to custom. After making a statement of the annual present and the extra one which Your Lordship ordered to be delivered to me for Chief Thenioan and the nation in the public assembly of the concourse, I made the following speech to him:

"In view of all you see you must recognize that His Lordship kept and fulfilled the promise he made. He expected that, in consequence of it, the promise which Thenioan had made would be carried out in accordance with the agreement previously made between him and his Lordship."

Thenioan replied that he had never failed in any promise that he had made to the chiefs, and that at present he thinks the same, but it would be impossible for him to go to attack the Osages because the number of his nation is very inferior to theirs. However, he said that he would try to do them as much harm as he could, and that he will inform me of whatever he does.

He expressed himself as well-pleased with the present that Your Lordship made to him. He ordered it to be distributed immediately among all the nation. They all expressed the same satisfaction as

the chief. The said Thenioan would be glad if Your Lordship would make a present to the Quidesenche nation, considering that they are his allies and defend his people against the attacks of enemies by protecting the side of their village, by reason of their proximity and situation.

I informed Your Lordship in my official letter No. 32 that I would ascertain from Chief Thenioan whether he had given his commission to Lepinet to present to Your Lordship as a guaranty that he wishes to carry on trade with him. It turns out that Thenioan had given it to him with the purpose of having Your Lordship send him another commission because the first is wet and torn, and that he had no other motive or desire. From this it appears that Lepinet imposed upon Your Lordship by telling you something that chief had not said or even thought of.

Since this chief is without any trader from this post in his village to furnish his people with what they need, he said that necessity compels them to trade with the aforesaid Lepinet or any other who presents himself by way of the Ouachita.

As this is proved, and since no trade is carried on with the people of this town, it is clear that there is no nation living in dependency upon it. Consequently, without these nations and those who were previously friendly, this post is reduced only to its inhabitants, who are compelled to hunt in the woods for the sustenance which those nations formerly brought to them.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *September 22, 1787.*

JOSEF DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

BALDERAS TO MIRÓ

*October 8, 1787*<sup>152</sup>

No. 74.

I send Your Lordship a letter which was delivered to me at this post by the American Brigadier, James Wilkinson, who presented himself to me here at Baliza on the twentieth of last month at seven in the morning. Not finding the wind favorable for leaving by the Southeast Pass, I did so by the Southwest on the same day, and accompanied him until he departed by that Pass at sunset.

I inform Your Lordship of this for your information.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

BALIZA, *October 8, 1787.*

IGNACIO BALDERAS (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>152</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

## GRANDE-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*October 26, 1787* <sup>153</sup>

No. 428.

On the 24th of the current month I received Your Lordship's letter of the 25th of last September in which you tell me of the information given to you by the commandant of Pensacola relative to the man named Brashears, who had come down with twenty or thirty Americans by the Mississippi to the place called Chickasaw Bluff, or Barrancas à Margo which is the same. A pirogue with four Americans and one woman has arrived. They came from Fort Pitt whence they started five weeks ago, and from them I obtained the information which follows.

Richard Brashears is a former inhabitant of this district, where he left his wife, who is the daughter of William Brokas. He went to America on a passport from Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Boulogny on the express condition that he should not be permitted to return to this district. This man left the Falls or the Rapids of the Ohio with one of his brothers who was living there and twenty-five or thirty other Americans. They went together down the Mississippi as far as the place called Chickasaw Bluff in order to establish themselves there and set up trade with the Chickasaw Indians and some of the Choctaws; but the disturbances made by Indians over their territories and the death of Davenport and others who were killed either by the last-named Indians or the Talapoosas, compelled them to abandon this site, and obliged Richard Brashears to retreat to the villages of the Chickasaws, where he is now with seven or eight men. His brother is at the Falls with the rest, where they saw him when they passed by. The projects of these four Americans for settlement and trade with the Indians have been entirely given up. Their information was confirmed today by two reliable inhabitants who have just returned from the Choctaws and Chickasaws where they went with my permission to look for stolen horses. They say that they saw Richard Brashears, but that he had no influence or standing among the Indians.

The four Americans, who are named James Garland, John Wilson, Robert McGuinness, and David Withe, also state that the flatboat in which they left Fort Pitt with all their provisions was taken by the Indians twenty-five leagues above the post of Arkansas. At Fort Pitt an officer of the staff of that place ordered them to take with them the two great Chickasaw and Choctaw chiefs who had just arrived there in a coach from Philadelphia at the expense of the General Congress, and to carry them with all the goods and presents which they had to the Barrancas à Margo or Chickasaw



Bluff. This they did. They say that these two chiefs were invited by the Congress to go to Philadelphia where a treaty was made with them, forming an alliance against the Talapoosa Indians, and that the two chiefs are to have their people armed immediately so as to join the nine hundred Americans ordered to be raised in the State of Virginia, and are to set out on the march on the second notice that they receive. It has been arranged with the Indians that on the 1st of November this militia should be in the villages of the Chickasaws, where the ceremony is to take place and preparations for the campaign are to be begun.

These two Indian chiefs each received a badge and medal on which their names are stamped. Being asked what their names were, they replied that they could only remember the name of the Choctaw chief which is Py Omuttahan. This is all that I could learn on the subject.

In regard to the settlements of the Ohio these same Americans gave the following reports as being also very certain:

The General Congress had sent out without effect repeated orders that all the inhabitants who had established themselves without permission on the right bank of the Ohio would have to leave it immediately. To put the last order into effect, Congress ordered a body of troops to go there. These troops burned all the houses, cut down the corn, and destroyed all the provisions then on hand, so that those families were under the necessity of going to settle on the left bank of the same river, as well as all the inhabitants of Wabash and those of the post of Vincennes. It is the intention and purpose of the Congress, after having reduced or destroyed the Talapoosas, to put on public sale all the lands on the right bank of the Ohio from Fort Pitt to its confluence with the Mississippi. The profit from it is to serve as payment in part for the continental debt.

The aforesaid four Americans took here the necessary oath of allegiance until orders are received from Your Lordship whether they are to remain here or not.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

FORT PANMURE OF NATCHEZ, *October 26, 1787.*

CARLOS DE GRANDE-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MIRÓ TO NAVARRO

*January 29, 1788*<sup>154</sup>

On the date of January 17 of last year, having been informed by the commandant of Yllinoa that the American Brigadier Clark

<sup>154</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 270.

was recruiting men to come and attack Natchez, I reported to His Excellency the Señor Marqués de Sonora that it would be necessary to station at that post, until such time as the matter of boundaries should be arranged, the galley and three gunboats which his Majesty has here. In addition I recommended that two good canoes be maintained, one of them to be posted with a detachment of six men, a sergeant and a corporal, at the upper part of the island in this river, one hundred leagues above Natchez, to serve as a lookout. They can come down quickly and report if an expedition is seen. The other canoe should serve to relieve that detachment every two months.

I also reported that the expense that would be caused by these boats in Natchez amounts only to the salaries of a master and ten sailors for the galley, a master and four sailors for each launch, a master for each canoe, and two reales daily as gratuity to each soldier who serves at the oars. In reply to this representation the Marqués de Sonora sent me the following royal order dated the 21st of April of the same year:

"The King, having learned by the confidential letter of Your Lordship of the 17th of last January of the new suspicions which you have conceived that the Americans intend to attack Natchez, has approved of the preparations which Your Lordship plans in case this should happen. It is understood that in such a case Your Lordship will go up to that post for the purpose of defending it, and that until such time as the matter of boundaries is settled you will maintain there the galley and three gunboats which his Majesty has there, besides two good canoes for the objects which Your Lordship proposes."

Although in accordance with this royal order the sending of the said boats should have been put into effect immediately, my desire to cause the least possible expense to the royal treasury has led me to delay, for the reason that the suspicions of an attack by Clark have been dissipated and assurances have been given to me and to Your Lordship by Brigadier Wilkinson that this province will not be molested by the people from above while the proposals that he has made are pending, and that he will inform us if any party of wandering, irresponsible people attempt any invasion. But while he is on a voyage by sea to return to one of the ports of America and from there to the settlements above, according to information communicated to me by Captain General Don Joseph de Ezpeleta on the date of the third of the current month, a party is being formed on the Tennessee River which plans to attack this province, in consequence of which he warns me to take great care to put the forts of this province in a state of defense. I can therefore no longer defer

sending the boats abovementioned. For this reason it is necessary to make ready as soon as possible the two gunboats and the galliot which are here, and which should go before the galley. As for the two canoes, it is necessary for them to go up immediately. It is well understood that four tents are needed for the use of the aforesaid watchmen, besides the hatchets, spades, hoes, and saws necessary for them to build at the head of the island mentioned a small enclosure, within which I shall direct them to make huts, in order better to preserve the provisions and to serve as their lodging.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 29, 1788.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Señor DON MARTÍN NAVARRO.

[Draft of Navarro's reply:]

In an official letter of the 29th of last month your Lordship communicates to me the well-founded suspicions which you had that the Americans would attack Natchez, on account of the information given you by the commandant of Ilinoia; the approval of his Majesty of the measures which Your Lordship was taking on this account; that which you had determined on behalf of the royal interests in view of the assurance given us by Brigadier Wilkinson; and the information lastly received by Your Lordship from the captain general ad interim, Don Josef de Ezpeleta, of the party being formed on the Tennessee River. In consequence of the above information, I must state that I am giving the respective orders for the preparation of the boats which Your Lordship says are to be prepared and outfitted with everything necessary for the purpose, and am doing all that I can on my part to bring about a fortunate outcome of the measures taken by Your Lordship.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 4, 1788.*

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATION POST ON THE  
MISSISSIPPI BELOW THE ARKANSAS

*January 30, 1788* <sup>155</sup>

Instructions to be observed by the commandant of Arkansas for the maintenance of a detachment to serve as a guard on the Mississippi.

1. The two sergeants and twelve men who are going up on this occasion with the two pirogues, as well as their masters, shall be subject to his orders.

2. One of the two pirogues, manned with a master, a sergeant, and six soldiers, should be stationed, if possible, at the head of the

island which is four or five leagues below the place where the Arkansas River empties into the Mississippi. At this place the soldiers should work, with earth from the island itself, to make a ground floor on which to place two or three store buildings, in order to store and preserve their provisions. They shall then build a small parapet around it with stakes and earth, with the object of guarding against any surprise by the Indians.

3. After making the ground floor and parapet they shall apply themselves to constructing two small barracks, or one large one, for better shelter.

4. The purpose of this small post is to guard the upper Mississippi, and if the soldiers see many flatboats, barges, or scows coming down together, they shall immediately get into the pirogue and go down as quickly as possible to report at Natchez, abandoning the provisions which they may have on hand and taking only what they need so that their progress may not be retarded.

5. For this purpose they must build a temporary lookout with four timbers or logs of from eight to ten feet high if possible, and place on it a man who will be able to see a greater distance over the river than he could without this aid.

6. If the barges are large and there are more than four, the men will go down and make the report, but if they are only scows they need not do it, that is, unless there are more than twelve.

7. If by leaving one soldier on the bank he can give you the news by land, then in this case there must be seven soldiers making up the detachment so that there may be a complete crew of six oarsmen. It must be understood, however, that in no way must this retard taking the news to Natchez; for according to my ideas and the project that I have in view, it is better that you should be ignorant for some days of the presence of enemies in the province than that the news should be delayed in reaching Natchez even a quarter of an hour.

8. The intendant should give you orders concerning the way in which you are to issue rations to the detachment. You are to prepare a statement each month giving the name and company of each soldier and the number of rations that he has taken, and when opportunity offers, you should send the list of the rations of the preceding months.

9. If it should be very difficult to establish the detachment at the head of the island in a place from which the Mississippi may be watched, and you should find it, on the contrary, much easier to establish it on the bank of the Mississippi at the place where that post was, or on the other side of the river at the place called Concordia, or at any other place farther up but never below the island, I leave it to your judgment. But you yourself must be the one to

go and locate it, in such a manner that it will have the same effect of permitting the flatboats or barges which may go down the Mississippi to be seen and a quick report made to Natchez.

10. The detachment may be changed every fifteen days, but if, on account of the proximity to that post, it can be done every eight days, it will be better. The object of this will be not to tire the men too much, for they must keep a sentinel on the lookout day and night.

11. As soon as the two pirogues arrive there, you will prepare a statement of the number of soldiers and how many days each used the oars in going from this capital, not counting the days they may rest at Natchez; and also in another statement you will give the number of days that each soldier worked in building the small post, as is explained above, so that each may be given a gratuity of two reales in silver.

It is very important that each and every one of the directions in this instruction shall be strictly carried out. For this reason I do not doubt that you will exert in it all the zeal, attention, and activity that I know characterize you, for I have information that on one of the rivers which empties into the Ohio there is a project to form an expedition to attack us.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 30, 1788.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

MIRÓ TO PEREZ

*February 15, 1788* <sup>156</sup>

*Answered.*

Captain General Don Joseph de Ezpeleta communicates to me a copy of a letter from one American officer to another which indicates that there is a project under way on the Tennessee River to form an expedition to go down the Ohio and attack this province. This has compelled me to send two pirogues to Arkansas with a sergeant and six men each, so that they may take turns in relieving each other at the post every fifteen days. This post is stationed on the Mississippi for the purpose of keeping the commandant of Natchez informed if many barges or flatboats are seen. I inform you of this so that you may endeavor on your part to acquire all the information that may be possible on this matter, and if it should be important, it will furnish an occasion for you to come down to this post, stopping on the way to inform the commandant of Natchez.

Since you inform me in your letter No. 2 that there are traders established in L'Anse à la Graisse, you will direct them, if they see

more than six barges coming down, to go and report it at Natchez, and they will be paid for the trip, both coming and going.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 15, 1788.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Señor DON MANUEL PEREZ.

MIRÓ TO VALLIERE

*February 16, 1788* <sup>157</sup>

I consider as not worthy of attention the information given to you by Chim Banet, of which you tell me in your letter No. 77; for the principal chiefs of the Great Osages have been in Ylinoia, where they affirmed that other chiefs or headmen were now on the way to that place who would be turned over as hostages. They made many excuses for the killing of the two white persons, and asked pardon. Therefore, if they arrive at that post, you must be very firm in demanding that they shall promise peace with all the Indian nations which are under our protection in this province and in those of New Spain. Also they have to send here two chiefs as hostages who may be changed every year so that they may see that they are well-treated.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 16, 1788.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Señor DON JOSEPH VALLIERE.

VALINIERE TO MIRÓ

*February 23, 1788* <sup>158</sup>

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR OF NEW ORLEANS:

Your Excellency will forgive me for coming to you merely to ask justice. I know that it is for you both a pleasure and a duty to render it. I am sure that a Catholic King, like the King of Spain, does not propose to allow his subjects to interfere with the Church in America, and moreover, I know that Your Excellency yourself has expressly ordered each commandant on your side of the river not to interfere in any American affair.

Yet (I am painfully obliged to inform you) Mr. Peyroux, commandant of Ste. Geneviève, otherwise known as Misere, has not ceased since his arrival to interfere with everything that is going on here concerning the church as well as in regard to private individuals, and the state itself.

<sup>157</sup> BL.

<sup>158</sup> BL, (French).

First: Monsieur Dodge, who, after having robbed a widow here of all her possessions, which were considerable, was received at Ste. Geneviève by the late Monsieur Oro, his predecessor, and became a great friend of his. He has already twice taken upon himself to post here some insulting and libelous notices against the priest, as well as against the widow. He is upheld by Peyroux and all his clique, which is very numerous. As each one of them has reason to fear justice, which we are told is soon to prevail here, they all take advantage of the protection which Peyroux gives them to commit every day some insolent action and to seek refuge in his house, or on your side of the river. One of the principal leaders of this clique, speaking of an attempt at an assassination of which I was the victim, said to a group of people "I am not through with him yet."

Second: A little later Monsieur Peyroux saw an order that I felt obliged to give in connection with the rebellion of the two men who are fulfilling the function of curates, one at Cahokia, and the other at Vincennes. He at once took it upon himself to make an abominable sort of answer, which I have taken the liberty to send to the Most Reverend Vicar General at New Orleans, so that he might show it to you. It is true that he denies that this is his handwriting, admitting, however, that it is that of his secretary, called Montigny, but I cannot accept this pretense as an excuse; for he has spoken to me in such a way as to defend the false or at least bad priest, called S. Pierre, since he did not conceal from me the fact that he was espousing the cause of this rebel, who despite his interdict, is inciting the whole population to revolt. Monsieur Peyroux eats and drinks, and is continually having a good time with the most mutinous members of that clique.

Now, since the song of the said Peyroux, which has probably been taken to the house of the said Paul Heyligenstein, called S. Pierre, the rebels of this place have been making use of the word *Antipodes*, with which they are not familiar, and threaten with all sorts of horrible insults, to send me there, extirpating me from the place where I am. This is in agreement with the announcement already made in the assembly and the threats several times repeated by all the conspirators. I have had everything already recorded at the clerk's office.

Yesterday, the 22nd day of February, 1788, Monsieur Montigny, secretary of the said Monsieur Peyroux, still keeping on in the same vein, has again caused to have posted here a slanderous writing and several abominable songs against me, by one Barsalou, the younger, who, upon his arrest, stated under oath that this writing is signed *Montigny*. Now Monsieur Peyroux cannot say that he does not know what his secretary is doing because I took pains to inform him about

it and to assure him that, if he kept it up, I should have the honor of letting you know. The letter which I wrote to him on this matter is dated the 22d of December, 1787.

It is true that he says that if his command is taken away from him he will withdraw to the Saline, which he has bought, but he does not see that the proximity of a person like himself, whose sole concern is to embroil America, is too contrary to the prudent policies which your government has always followed.

I should be tedious if I should give you here the names of all the rascals whom he is protecting under the pretext, as he says, that he was instructed to attract the Americans to your side and that it was enough that they should say that they were Catholics (he himself told me so, and the famous Dodge wrote it to the Americans of Bellefontaine). It is under this pretext that anybody can steal, rob, and kill here without punishment, make away with what he was stolen, and be assured of being immediately protected by Peyroux. My answer to his songs merely names two or three whose acts can be certified by the register of the clerk here. Very soon four or five of Monsieur Peyroux's intimate friends, also known on the registers, are going to follow them.

I have now satisfied my conscience by giving you this information. Your well-known prudence will draw the necessary conclusions. I have the honor of being with a profound respect of Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant,

P. HUET DE LA VALINIERE

Priest Vicar General, at KASKASKIA, *23d of February, 1788.*

P. S. This Monsieur Peyroux, in order to uphold the false, or at least the rebel, Paul Heyligenstein, called St. Pierre, has gone so far as to threaten to have me arrested by a guard if I cross to the Spanish bank even for the purpose of going to confession to the Reverend Father Louis, its curate.

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

*February 27, 1788* <sup>159</sup>

No. 8.

Nothing new has occurred in this district, and these settlements continue in a state of tranquillity; only a soldier called Francisco de Torres, of the eighth company of the second battalion, deserted from this outfit on the 28th day of January.

The principal chief of the Mascouten nation, named Tancelé, who was in this town with thirty men, and who is in the habit of going



to war every year, carried out his usual custom in the month of December. He fell upon the nations of the American district, the Illinois and Kaskaskia, of whom he killed five men and six children, besides carrying off eight other persons as prisoners. This chief, as he confessed to me when he came to see me, says he can do no less than make war on some nations as long as he lives, because in the time of French domination they did harm to the French whom he and his nation have always loved as well as the Spaniards. He is feared by the nations of the other district because they say he always comes out well in his attacks. He shows us much affection, and up to now has never done any harm to our district.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *February 27, 1788.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEYROUX TO MIRÓ

*March 8, 1788*<sup>180</sup>

No. 1.

SIR: I shall always do my best to deserve the esteem of Your Lordship by always conforming to your intentions. In order to begin to give a stable character to the settlements which you have entrusted to me, I have reformed several ancient abuses about the enclosures which were very harmful to agriculture and to the population. As some of the fuss about this matter is not yet ended, despite all the care of Monsieur Don Manuel Perez and myself, I am putting off for another time the details of these regulations.

The village of Ste. Geneviève will never be a permanent settlement favorable to a military post. It is located on lowlands, or rather on an infectious marsh, which is undermined daily by the Mississippi. The soldiers' quarters are located on sliding land about one hundred feet from the bank, which places them in the greatest danger. My house is scarcely safer. Furthermore, the banks of the river are inaccessible in the lower waters. The pier where Monsieurs De Cruzat and Perez landed when they passed here has already been destroyed by the landslides. It is continually necessary to build new piers, and despite that, no canoes or boats may be left there. A soldier called Joseph Figerola was drowned there on the 5th of October last, while drawing a pail of water, and one of the inhabitants has just lost his barge. All the environs are devoid of woods and grasses. For six months in the year the animals are obliged to go and drink one league

<sup>180</sup> BL, (French).

away from the village. It is the same thing when it is a question of doing the laundry, etc.

There are two other villages which do not have these inconveniences. One of them is that of the Saline, located one hundred arpents lower than Ste. Geneviève; the other one is that of the Petites Cotes on the road to St. Louis, one league from Ste. Geneviève. This village is twenty arpents distant from the Mississippi, and situated along a muddy stream. The other one is placed at the mouth of a river abounding in fish and on a high and solid terrain. This position of the village of Saline along the Mississippi seems to have the advantages necessary to a central point for this district. The river has its source more than twenty leagues away, and flows among fields and charming hills. When the water is high, boats enter with full sail, and it is the only port where the inhabitants of Ste. Geneviève and surrounding places may keep their canoes and boats. It is in the center of the settlements of Bois Brulé and Ste. Geneviève. Furthermore, it is almost opposite the mouth of the Kaskaskia River, where the Americans have some settlements. The savages also go here to trade at the Saline, which is important to watch over on account of the foreigners who go there secretly to steal skins and to corrupt the slaves, buying from them for almost nothing the salt which they steal from their masters. Salt mines, limestone deposits, cane brakes, cedar groves, etc. all add to the advantages of the place.

If it should please Your Lordship to permit me to establish my residence there and to transport there the garrison and the property of the King, you would be furthering, in my belief, the interests of this district and those of the troops who could live more cheaply. The location is healthful and fertile. Stone houses, forts, mills, etc. may be built there. I have spoken about it to Monsieur Don Manuel Perez, who said to me that he was unable to do anything about it unless Your Lordship ordered it. I have the honor of being of Your Lordship, Sir, the most humble and most obedient servant,

PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENIERE (Rubric)

STE. GENEVIÈVE, *8th of March, 1788.*

PEYROUX TO MIRÓ

*March 12, 1788*<sup>161</sup>

Copy No. 4.

SIR: I have the honor of informing Your Lordship that the Great Osage have just given new proofs of their perfidy. Right after concluding peace and receiving presents they have ransacked the house

<sup>161</sup> BL, (French).

of Sieur Gratiot, two leagues distant from St. Louis. They have stolen horses in this district, but here is something more.

Yesterday, the 11th of March, in the evening, one Pierre la Buche, a hunter, fifteen years old, a mulatto, and son of Jean François la Buche, European, stated that in the afternoon of last Saturday, the 8th of March, his father left him at Fourche à Courtois to return to the camp, saying that he was worried about his young son aged seven whom he had left there; but that an hour after his father had left him he heard the discharge of guns near the camp. He went immediately towards this camp where he arrived a quarter of an hour later, and one hour before sunset. There he found near the fire just the head of his father, scalped down to the eyes. His long beard had not been touched. The aforesaid Pierre la Buche took flight at this sight, without seeing his young brother. His dogs wanted to follow the tracks of the three horses which the murderers had stolen, and which pointed towards the country of the Osage, but he took the road to another camp where he often left the product of his hunts. He slept there, and the following morning he saw footprints of savages. I have the honor of being, with a profound respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENIERE.

STE. GENEVIÈVE, *12th of March, 1788.*

This copy conforms to the original.

ANDRÉS ARMESTO (Rubric)

VALINIÈRE TO MIRÓ

*March 14, 1788*<sup>162</sup>

KASKASKIA, *14th of March, 1788.*

TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW ORLEANS.

SIR: I have already had the honor of writing to you about Don Henry Peyroux, commander of Ste. Geneviève, concerning his impudence in taking sides with the so-called priest in my district who has been interdicted. He thus made two mistakes, the first one in interfering with matters of the Church and the religion, the second one in meddling with affairs in a part of America where he has no jurisdiction. Since that time, as I say, his secretary, named Montigny, or rather his superintendent at the Saline which he has bought, has not stopped sending here either defamatory verses or impudent writings which he has caused to be posted during the night at my door.

Sieur Peyroux himself has had several posted without a permit,

<sup>162</sup> BL, (French).

especially one inviting the subjects of America in his name to go and settle in his Saline. I am perfectly sure that you are much too polite and too prudent to authorize these infamies and these indiscretions. One Dodge, the most brazen thief that was ever here, has also been doing the same thing since he has been at Ste. Geneviève. He has posted slanderous writings, directed as much against myself as against a widow whose property he stole and took to Spain. He has also written posters and letters to the Americans of this bank to induce them to come to the aforesaid Sieur Peyroux, his friend. While waiting for Your Excellency to remedy this situation, I shall write to Sieur Don Perez, commandant general at St. Louis, begging him to stem the flow of these disorders somewhat. I have the honor of being, with the respectful confidence of Your Excellency, your most humble servant,

P. HUET DE LA VALINIERE, *Vicar General.*

This Monsieur Peyroux is injuring me to the extent of more than a thousand crowns, by inducing the people all around me not to pay their tithes to me, most of them fleeing to his side to eat them up together. Consequently I request that he be condemned to pay a fine of one thousand crowns, to be given either to your hospital or to some nun for her dowry. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I felt obliged to write to him in a spirit of charity, but which probably has irritated him instead of converting him. You shall see whether there is reason in it.

Copy of a letter from the Reverend Vicar General of Illinois to Sieur Peyroux, commandant at Ste. Geneviève, 21st of December, 1787.

SIR AND DEAR SON: I should believe myself to be lacking in charity and in the esteem in which I hold the virtue of your honorable mother did I not give you the following admonition. It seems that in your travels around the world you have lost much of the religious feelings which your honorable mother must have inculcated in you, but the situation and the kingdom in which you are should, it seems to me, renew at least the appearances of these religious sentiments. You are obligated to uphold the Church, or at least to lend your help if it is required to punish those who assault it. Look now into your heart and see whether you do so. It is true that we know good when we are in a state of grace, like a good earth ready to bear fruitful seeds, but I have seen for myself that everything went badly if I had not been to confession for a long time, just as a land which is not tilled grows tares, thorns, thistles, and weeds instead of the good grain which is sown. Even if your heart, which is naturally good, had not been neglected for years, the thorns, the brambles, and the thistles of the Illinois hearts in the midst of which it is now placed, could not

fail to stifle or spoil the little good grain that remains in it. However, too much goodness in religion, or rather the patient bearing with those who abuse it, ceases to be goodness and becomes weakness. Little by little one becomes bad with the evil ones so that one soon believes that one is doing one's duty, whereas one is doing quite the contrary.

Let us come to the point. Your duty is to prevent and silence anybody speaking ill against the Church or its ministers. Your duty, as I have already said, is to arrest those who trouble the Church and the State. However, you seem to be doing just the contrary. First: Are you in ignorance of the conduct of this canker or cancer which you are nurturing within your breast, or of this monster of ingratitude who will not fail to do to you what he has done to me, because I have been good enough to recommend him to you, and also I have sought to be of service to him and fed him at my table? And now he dares to publish a slanderous book about me and about your curate, as well as about the few honest people who are here. If you are ignorant of all that, as I say, at least you cannot fail to know what you have done to me in breaking the silence which should be your attitude in matters of religion.

Far from being ready to arrest those who assault the Church and the State, you not only desire not to be informed about them, but on the contrary you take their defense against their superiors although the question is not within your jurisdiction. Sir and dear friend, when we shall seek help from you to arrest a false priest or an infidel who abuses our most sacred things, and have him taken to the inquisition, it will be neither you nor the cowardly Monsieur Cruzat, nor the proud P. B. who will judge the matter. When some one from the district of St. Louis shall trouble America, if we do not obtain justice against him at St. Louis, it will not be from you that we shall request it, but from others.

Believe me, my dear son, you have not been sent here to separate with the sword the administration and the Church. Your curate does nothing without orders from his bishop. It is in vain that the cankers which are at your table every day and which are likely to devour your breast, may boast and brag with the infidels of the two banks; they shall not impair my rights, but they are likely to cause you to be blamed, and I should be sorry to see you reproached so quickly.

Fear wounds, for although one is cured of them their scars remain visible for all time. Two or three strokes of the pen sometimes cause more damage than twenty thrusts of the sword. I have the honor of being, with an affectionate compassion, Sir and Dear Son,

Your most humble servant,

P. HUET DE LA VALINIERE, *Vicar General*.

Your Excellency may see for yourself whether I deserve, because of this, to have the aforesaid *Sieur Peyroux* and his secretary tear my reputation to bits, to such an extent that it is not possible for me to stay here any longer, so much have they aroused all the inhabitants against me. I shall send you, if you desire, the affidavits of all the honest people who will testify to it because they know it. Let him not say that we have made verses about him, because we have done so only after he had had the effrontery to take sides with our rebels in the verses which I am sending you, and in the visits, advices, and assiduities which he has given them in order to arouse them against my ministration, as well as against *Father Louis*, his curate. I insist, therefore, that he be condemned to pay a fine of at least one thousand crowns, to be applied, as aforesaid, to my benefit. I am sending you the verses in question, which he has not even yet seen.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*March 19, 1788* <sup>163</sup>

MY DEAR AND ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: The short topographical description which I have sent to you hastily should begin by saying: This fort, Panmure of Natchez, formerly called Fort Rosalie, is in latitude 31 degrees 40 minutes north.

If Your Lordship will deign to give a special order to *Don William Vousdan* to communicate or deliver to me the explanatory plans of the surveys of lands, those of the time of British domination as well as the last ones ordered and issued by our government, I can then indicate accurately the line of demarkation which separates our territories from those of the Indians, although we already know it, more or less. Using these with the information I have already acquired by myself, I may form a general and exact description of this district, from Yazoo as far as the old village of the Tunicas. In this description, note will be made of all sorts of wild products, both in the vegetable and the animal kingdoms; metals, minerals, fossils, and all information of that character that would be worth knowing, such as plants that may be cultivated with advantage to the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant; the different kinds of land; the suitability of some of them for certain products, and other physical details.

When I request this order from Your Lordship it is with full knowledge of the very peculiar talents of *Vousdan*, from whom I have never been able to obtain those plans, the only instruments which can serve me, for this person has no knowledge of anything else.

Permit me to place myself at the feet of your wife, to whom I offer my respect and obedience, and to whom my wife offers her affectionate expressions of love and friendship, as well as to Your Lordship. I hope to have the honor of seeing her soon in the company of Your Lordship, whose life I pray the All-Powerful to lengthen the many years I desire.

NATCHEZ, *March 19, 1788*. I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most obedient and affectionate servant.

CAROLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

VALLIERE TO MIRÓ

*March 30, 1788* <sup>164</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: I am well-informed in regard to the illicit commerce which is being carried on between the posts of Vincennes and L'Anse à la Graisse, and on the Mississippi, as Your Lordship will learn by the capture and confiscation of which I inform you.

In order to prevent this illicit commerce and to be able to report it when it does occur, it is very essential to put a detachment at the said L'Anse à la Graisse. L'Anse à la Graisse is one hundred and two leagues distant from this post and fifteen below the Ohio River. The settlement has a frontage of six leagues along the Mississippi; the depth of one part reaches to the rear of Ste. Geneviève where there is a good road; the other part extends as far as the upper St. Francis River, which is on the side of the Missouri. The land is of good quality for tobacco, wheat, cane, maize, etc.

This I know personally, for I have seen these cultivated in that country when I myself was there at the time when I went up to Ylinoa. In addition to the above I know very well that the greater part of the French inhabitants living at the posts of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and the other posts, who are constantly being disturbed and killed by the Indians, would come under our flag. In a short time those settlements, in my opinion, would come to be very considerable and American trade would not be carried on so easily.

Two arpents from the bank of the Mississippi there is an eminence on the edge of the bayou which has an area of about twelve arpents. Five leagues above this on the American side is the Iron Mine.

I have also received information that the first battalion of the Regiment of Pennsylvania has been distributed, one hundred and fifty in Vincennes, fifty in Cumberland, fifty in Kentucky or Louis-

ville, fifty in Clarksville opposite Kentucky, and the rest at Fort Pitt and Fort Duquesne.

This is the extent of the information that I can give to Your Lordship at present on this subject.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *March 30, 1788.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### NOTICES POSTED AT KASKASKIA

*April 7, 1788*<sup>165</sup>

"The public is warned that anybody desiring to acquire land at the Saline, either for purposes of building or of tilling the soil and raising cattle, must address himself to Don Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere, owner of the said place. In order to accommodate the buyers several years' credit will be given, and the said purchasers shall be permitted to draw water at the Saline, to make salt, and to cut timber for building and heating purposes on all lands which are not closed. Artisans and workmen will also be encouraged there."

This copy conforms to the one in the clerk's office, which has been posted at the door of the church of the city of Kaskaskia in the United States of America, in the month of February of the present year. The handwriting is that of Monsieur Montgnie, clerk of Monsieur Peyroux, commandant at Ste. Geneviève. This present copy was made at Kaskaskia the 7th of April, 1788.

PIERRE LANGLOIS (Rubric)

*County Clerk.*

We, Antoine Beauvais, magistrate of the District of the City of Kaskaskia, after hearing Monsieur Jean Baptiste Bersalou Jr. at the request of Monsieur Pierre Huet de la Valiniere, curate of this parish of Kaskaskia, have made him take an oath to tell the truth. After taking this oath he stated to us that he had brought a poster purporting to come from Monsieur Montgnie, for the purpose of posting it at the door of the church. He states that he posted it, and that it is Madam Bazille Lachappelle who furnished him the paste. Declaring that he did so without malicious intent, he signed in the presence of Sieurs John Edgar, and John Rice Jones at Kaskaskia the 22d of February, 1788.

(Signed) JEAN BAPTISTE BERSALOU.

Witnesses signed:

JOHN EDGAR, and JOHN RICE JONES.

(Signed) ANTOINE BEAUVAIS

*Magistrate.*

<sup>165</sup> BL, (French).



This copy conforms to the record and was copied from the original by myself, notary and county clerk at Kaskaskia, the 7th of April, 1788.

PIERRE LANGLOIS (Rubric).

*County Clerk.*

I certify that the notice which has been posted at the door of the church by orders of Mr. Montgnie, clerk of Mr. Peroux, injures the reputation of Mr. de la Valiniere, curate of the parish of the city of Kaskaskia. The said notice dated February 19, 1788, is signed Montgnie, as well as another notice which was posted several days later at the gate of the parish house yard. We have not been able to ascertain who posted it, nor have we been able to take it off, because the paste stuck so hard to the wood that it is all torn. This statement is given to be used as may be seen fit.

PIERRE LANGLOIS (Rubric)

*County Clerk.*

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

*April 18, 1788*<sup>166</sup>

No. 11.

There is nothing new in these posts except that the traders have returned from the Kansas, Little Osage, Missouri, and Oto nations, all greatly pleased with having done a good business. They tell me the nations are tranquil, and they did not meet with any difficulties on their journey.

The last trader informed me that he met a Little Osage on the way who confessed to him that he had been one of the party of that nation which killed the man named La Buche in the neighborhood of Ste. Geneviève. He told him also that they did it to defend themselves from death, for La Buche fired first, knocking one of their party down, notwithstanding that they called out to him not to fire, for they were not going to do him any harm, but were going to offer him their hands. His statement that there were nine of them agreed with the declaration of the small boy.

I am informed that this nation is to come here. When it arrives I shall charge it with the crime, and shall inform Your Lordship of the results.

The nations of the other side are every day more opposed to the Americans and do them all the harm that they can. Lately they killed one American and wounded two within Kaskaskia, besides some others on the Ohio River.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *April 18, 1788*

MANUEL PÉREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>166</sup> BL.

ALVAREZ TO PAREZ

*May 10, 1788*<sup>167</sup>

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Taking advantage of the opportunity of my presence at L'Anse à la Graisse a little chief of the Cherokee nation has been constantly coming for the last five or six days to beg me to take part in their council with the object of putting it in writing so that it may be presented to you with a quantity of collars from his nation. I could not refuse this to them for fear of giving them offence. Consequently I explain it all to you in the following manner.

## COUNCIL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

"MY FATHER: The great chief of the Cherokees called Tourquin is sending his son to you to tell you that he brings his messages and that he supplicates you to grant him the favor of giving refuge to his whole nation in the territory of the great King of Spain for which he will be immensely gratified. The great war chief also sends you his message by a little chief, with the object of asking you to grant him your protection, together with permission to establish himself with his village in your land. He awaits your reply and message with impatience, desiring to obtain the permission as soon as possible. The great chief asks me to tell you that he expects a very favorable reply on your part, which you will send to him by his son, so that he may establish himself in your country, for he believes himself to be worthy of pity, and trusts that you will grant him what his son asks for in his name.

"MY FATHER: I am sending you my little chief with my message, feeling sure that you will listen to him and give me your consent to establish myself in your land, for we are worthy of pity. My father, our women beg you to grant them our humble demand. Since we are deserving of pity, they hope from your clemency that you will listen to their complaints, for they are all naked. My father, here is the message of the chief, my father, who sends me so that I may instruct the little chief who is taking his message to you. I hope you will give him a prompt reply, in order to send your message to the great chief of my nation. The little chief begs you to give him a musket, a little powder and ball, and a hatchet, in order to present himself at the great village. My father, six villages beg you to be permitted to establish themselves in your land. There are so many men that I cannot state the number, but they are all ready to listen to your message. My father, I beg you to give me a small canoe, in order to carry your message more quickly to the great chief."

I wish both you and your wife, whose feet I kiss, good health as well as the rest of your beloved family.

L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE, *May 10, 1788.*

Your most attentive servant, who kisses your hands,

EUGENIO ALVAREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON MANUEL PEREZ.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*May 31, 1788* <sup>168</sup>

No. 21.

A little chief and two Indians of the Cherokee nation, who just arrived, presented to me two collars as a symbol of the message sent to me by the great chief of this nation. By this he asks and solicits that he be permitted to come and establish himself in this part of the lands of the King of Spain, as Your Lordship will see more in detail in the accompanying letter, which was sent to me with those same Indians from L'Anse à la Graisse by Eugenio Alvarez, merchant of this town. The little chief asked Alvarez to put the council they held for this purpose into writing and it is included in this letter. I received them and gave them something, with the musket, powder, and ball for which he asks me in the said council, telling them that I would write to the great father; for without his consent I could not give them the permission to come and settle in this district. They were satisfied with this, and I await Your Lordship's order as to what to do in this matter. They tell me it is a good nation, and that perhaps through their example others may wish to come, for they are disgusted with the Americans and English.

If they are permitted to come and establish themselves, we will be compelled to increase the expense for presents; for if the number of presents to be sent is as small as I have just received, it will not be enough for two-thirds of the nations to whom it is necessary to give presents now, and I do not know how I can satisfy the great number of parties who are constantly coming in increasing numbers. It is necessary to give them all presents, for they have been accustomed to it since former times as you may learn from my predecessor, Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Cruzat.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *May 31, 1788.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*June 17, 1788*<sup>169</sup>

No. 17.

According to information received by me, the Indians of the Osage nation moved, at the beginning of this month, closer to the village of the Kichai, a place twenty leagues from the first cattle ranches of this post, and they have carried off many horses. Consequently the Kichai have determined to move their village. This removal leaves the road free to those enemy Indians to reach in a short time the cattle ranches spoken of and to exterminate all the individuals who have enjoyed on them for many years the most undisturbed peace. I inform Your Lordship of this for your guidance.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *June 17, 1788.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## PROHIBITION OF TRADE WITH TEXAS

*June 24, 1788*<sup>170</sup>

DON LOUIS CHARLES DE BLANC, CIVIL AND MILITARY COMMANDANT OF THIS POST AND DEPENDENCIES :

## NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

In accordance with the orders of His Lordship Don Estevan de Miró, governor general of this province and of West Florida, we are expressly forbidden to give any passport to the provinces of Texas, or to allow the entry of any merchandise whatsoever into the kingdom of New Spain since it is contraband. Any person who shall disobey these orders shall be arrested and his trial instituted to ascertain the nature of the goods which he wanted to smuggle. The said goods will be seized and sent to the capital, with the culprit, while his case is being prosecuted. And so that no one may allege ignorance of these orders the present proclamation shall be read, published, and posted in the customary places of this post.

GIVEN AT NATCHITOCHES, *24th of June, 1788.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

<sup>169</sup> BL.<sup>170</sup> BL, (French).

## REPORT OF AMERICANS ARRIVING AT NATCHEZ

*July 5, 1788*<sup>171</sup>

Report of the families and single men who have come from the American posts above to Natchez, from the month of January to this date, including the effects they have brought, and statement of the district from which they came.

DISTRICT OF KENTUCKE	Men	Women	Children	Single Men	Total of Individuals	Negroes	Cattle	Horses	Hogs	Carts	Ploughs	Spades	Axes	
<i>Families</i>														
James Buchanan.....	1	1	---	---	2	---	5	---	1	1	5	5	3	
Rubin Proctor.....	1	1	3	---	5	---	4	---	---	---	---	2	2	
Jaime Glasscock.....	1	---	5	---	6	---	1	---	---	1	1	4	4	
Isaac Taylor.....	1	1	6	---	8	---	4	2	13	---	2	4	5	
Abner Marble.....	1	1	11	---	13	---	1	3	---	1	2	6	4	
Estevan Richard.....	1	1	1	---	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	
Roberto Paton.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Abenezer Easman.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Proctor.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Chamber.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Silas Chamber.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Jph. Chamber.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Davis.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Guyle.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Short.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Jacobo Pyat.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
														Single Men

STATE OF VIRGINIA	Men	Women	Children	Single Men	Total of Individuals	Negroes	Cattle	Horses	Hogs	Carts	Ploughs	Spades	Axes	
<i>Families</i>														
Pedro Bruin.....	1	1	3	---	5	20	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Melin Woolley.....	1	---	---	---	1	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
M*. Humphris.....	---	1	6	---	7	6	---	---	---	---	---	5	6	
Juan Turney.....	1	1	---	---	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Benjamin Nowman.....	1	1	5	---	7	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	
Abner Dayton.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	
Abner Chafy.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Tomas Lord.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Samuel Morfy.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Tarply Bayly.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Ezequiel Haskynson.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Cornelios Hortery.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Carlos Rickfil.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Champion.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Tomas Louden.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Estevan Hayward.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Minor.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Ezekial Nowman.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Juan Yeats.....	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Total.....	10	9	40	24	83	31	10	11	14	3	10	28	27	

<sup>171</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2361.

DISTRICT OF TENSI OR CUMBERLAND	Men	Women	Children	Single Men	Total of Individuals	Negroes	Cattle	Horses	Hogs	Carts	Ploughs	Stades	Axes	
Total from the other part.	10	9	40	24	83	31	10	11	14	3	10	28	27	
Jorge Cook	1	1	1		3	3					1	2	2	
Benjamin Drack	1	1			2									
Juan Gaskins	1	1	3		5									
Thomas Behr	1	1	2		4	2								
Daniel Hardigill	1	1	3		5									
Martin Fremtham	1	1	3		5									
James Spawllins	1	1	1		3									
Mad <sup>m</sup> . Scogings		1	3		4									
Jacobo Piat	1	1	1		3									
Juan Ormsby				1	1									
Roberto Creton				1	1									
Juan Marney				1	1			1						
Daniel Strickling				1	1									
Benjamin Flecher				1	1									
Tomas Sneed				1	1									
Guillermo McDugal				1	1									
Jayme Pynn				1	1									
Hugh McGune				1	1									
Juan West				1	1									
Enrique Green				1	1									
Total	18	18	57	35	128	36	10	12	14	3	11	30	29	Single Men

NATCHEZ, *July 5, 1788*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

HAY TO MIRO

*July 30, ...*<sup>172</sup>

I Received your talk by Mr. Segoe but dont understand your wanting to see me and few of my Nation if you want to see me if you will send for the six towns upper towns and lower towns and Chicksaws i am willing to come and see you and take you by the hand if you will appoint to meat me at Mobille for if i was to set of to come to Orleans with ten men i should not Get back with five of them alive upon the account of the sickley Cuntrey which i thing you will say that my talk is Verrey Reasonable for you cant want to see me alone with a few of My warers for when i get presents for my self i would wish for all my Nation to Get there part as well as me which the Next talk i get from you i expect that it will be to meat you at Mobille that i may lay off my tiger skin to put on good Close

By the Request of Franchemastabbe Chief of yarsaw

PHILLIP HAY

To STEPHEN MIRO Esq<sup>r</sup>. Colonel of the armies, Govenor civil and military of the provinces of Lusaanne Mobille and Pensacola in West Florida. *July 30<sup>th</sup>.*

<sup>172</sup> BL, (English).

## DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*August 5, 1788*<sup>173</sup>

No. 35.

Chief Tiniouan of the Great Kadohadacho arrived at this post on the third of the current month bringing the nation of the Kichai accompanied by its respective chiefs. On the following day the parley was held, and the Caddo chief said that in consequence of the fact that the Osage, their cruel enemies, were always in their villages, and principally in that of the Kichai, disturbing the tranquillity which they have desired to obtain for such a long time, the last-named had resolved to move their village and go to settle on the seashore, between the Bidai and the Karankawa, but that all the nation of the Great and Little Caddo, for reasons of friendship, were opposed to this determination. In order to manifest their close union and their great desire that the Kichai shall move to a place situated six leagues from the Little Caddo, they all consented to give to them the present for this year which Your Lordship was pleased to send them. Chief Tiniouan promised to go to New Orleans and present the Kichai to Your Lordship, asking you to receive them under the protection of your jurisdiction, to select a chief for the medal of merit, and to confer upon them annually the same present enjoyed by the other nations who have the honor to be in Your Lordship's dependency. The Kichai consented to all of this in the parley, and I put myself under obligations with these two nations to inform Your Lordship of their determinations, so that you may be pleased to give them your approval.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

NATCHITOCHES, *August 5, 1788.*

His Lordship, DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*August 5, 1788*<sup>174</sup>

No. 36.

(Orders will be given to Filhiol as he asks. Give the order to Filhiol.)

I am informed by Chief Tiniouan of the Great Kadohadacho that for some time past hunters and vagabond traders of the Ouachita have been introducing themselves into the villages under my command, without my knowledge, especially a man named Luis Lepinet and the Englishman Robert Mignon. Since this procedure is illegal,

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<sup>173</sup> BL.<sup>174</sup> BL.

and also prejudicial to good order, I have advised the commandant of that district what is best to do in order to prevent that grave abuse, telling him that I have informed Your Lordship of these circumstances, so that you may be pleased to take such steps as may be necessary.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *August 5, 1788.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric).

His Lordship, DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

*November 15, 1788*<sup>175</sup>

No. 50.

I am returning to Your Lordship letter No. 1 from the commandant of Ste. Geneviève, Don Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere. After reading it and informing myself of all that he proposes in it to Your Lordship in regard to changing his residence and that of the troops to the village of the Saline, I must tell Your Lordship that the reasons he gives seem to me well-founded. Without doubt there is a great difference and advantage in the situation of the ground, for it is in fact nearer to the river Kaskaskia of the other side, and anything new that may occur on the American side in that district may be observed at all times with greater ease. The distance between the Saline and Ste. Geneviève is scarcely more than a league and a quarter (short), thus making it easy to come and go every day from one to the other for any business that may arise.

I do not find it difficult to believe that, if the river continues making inroads (as will happen without any doubt), it will carry away the greater part of Ste. Geneviève; for since I came, it has carried away nearly two arpents, with the result that the house of the commandant and the barracks are now very near the river.

In respect to any expense resulting to the royal treasury from the change, there is none, for Don Henri Peyroux has written to me that he will pay for a house for the lodging of the troops, for which the only charge will be the same annual rent as is paid at Ste. Geneviève. In consequence of this, I replied that he could put it in execution and inform me as soon as he has the barracks ready, in order that he may be permitted to go there with the detachment.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 15, 1788.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.



## PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*November 18, 1788*<sup>178</sup>

No. 55.

In consequence of Your Lordship's orders in your official letter of the 18th of May in regard to the two letters which you are pleased to enclose to me, and which I herewith return, written by Monsieur La Valiniere, curate of the town of Kaskaskia of the American side, against Don Henri Peyroux, commandant of Ste. Geneviève and Monsieur Dodge, I have secured all the information possible in regard to the occurrences without taking sides with one or the other. I am giving Your Lordship a true idea of Monsieur Huet La Valiniere, so that through it Your Lordship can form an opinion of what kind of person he is, and how there may be more of imposition in his letters than reality.

Monsieur La Valiniere, of the Sulpician Order, a person of an unquiet, turbulent, and ambitious spirit has been accused, while he was in Canada of favoring the Americans. For this reason, and by petition of his superior, the general of that province, he was sent as a prisoner to England, where he was locked up for eight months on a ship. At the end of this time he was given a passport to France from which place he went to the United States. From there he returned to Canada, and after engaging in several altercations there went back to the United States. On this journey he fell from his horse, striking his head, and the fall caused a change in his mind which increases or diminishes according to the season, but never ceases.

While he was in Virginia he received information that Illinois lacked a curate to serve the parish, and, presenting himself in Kaskaskia, he said he had obtained an order from Mr. Carroll, apostolic prefect of Virginia, to serve as vicar-general of the district named. The title which he presented was written on a piece of paper as large as his hand, with nearly all the lines altered, and without any formal character. The first thing he did a short time after reaching Kaskaskia was to force Monsieur St. Pierre to leave the town, where he had served the parish for some time, making him go to Cahokia and preventing the magistrates from interfering in the affair. Soon afterward he got into several altercations and difficulties with the principal inhabitants of that parish, and wished to excommunicate many of them, but at the moment of reading the promulgations he suggested to those being excommunicated that an arrangement might be made with him for money. To this they consented because they found it to be the only way to satisfy the avarice and ambition of Monsieur La Valiniere, and to avoid the scandal that would have en-

sued. He also claimed that the slaves should pay to him as tithes the money that they earned by their work on Sundays, and that their masters could not oppose it. He tried to prohibit Monsieur St. Pierre, the curate of Cahokia, from giving any dispensation whatever in his parish, or from doing anything without his permission. From this a quarrel arose between the two, resulting in Monsieur La Valiniere's making several inquiries in order to create the impression that Monsieur St. Pierre was not really properly accredited. With this purpose he wrote to the Reverend Father Bernard, curate of this parish of St. Louis, asking him to interest himself for the cause of religion, which was represented by an imposter, and to join with him in examining the papers of Monsieur St. Pierre relating to the matter. The Reverend Father Bernard, having made a careful examination of the papers of Monsieur St. Pierre, found them true and everything regular, and so informed Monsieur La Valiniere. But this did not stop him, for he would have preferred that Monsieur St. Pierre should turn out to be a criminal (not on account of his own zeal for religion but because of his ambition and self-interest); so he wrote a second time to the Reverend Father Bernard, who, being weary of the letters of Monsieur La Valiniere, answered that he should not speak to him again about such matters, for his character caused him to love peace rather than quarrels and discord. This reply caused La Valiniere to regard Father Bernard as a reprobate who did not enjoy the general esteem that he should.

Monsieur La Valiniere continues his persecution of Monsieur St. Pierre, and wished to go to Cahokia and put him out of there, but the inhabitants, who received news of it, wrote to him to remain quietly in his parish; for they would not permit him to offer the smallest insult to their rector, with whom they were well-satisfied. Monsieur Dodge, who was a great friend of Monsieur St. Pierre, happening to be in Kaskaskia at this time, took the part of Monsieur St. Pierre, as was natural. This, I believe, was in fact the principal motive of La Valiniere in attacking Dodge and writing so ill of him in his letters, for I have not been able to discover anything lacking in the conduct of Monsieur Dodge. On the contrary everybody speaks to me in his favor, and he has been regarded ever since he has resided in this district as a man of honor, a very industrious citizen, devoted to agriculture and work, and one of the best inhabitants of Ste. Geneviève.

I do not entirely uphold Don Henri Peyroux against Monsieur La Valiniere, but it is a fact that I have not found out anything against him, nor that he has ever been lacking in the good harmony that

ought to be maintained between the two districts. He has never been responsible for any discords or supported any of the rascals of the other district, as he is accused by Monsieur La Valiniere. If he had done this in the time of my predecessor, it is very certain that he would have interposed his authority, and if I had perceived the least thing, I would have done the same, and would have informed Your Lordship of the occurrence; for otherwise I would have been lacking in my duty. I therefore judge that there is much imagination in the accusations of Monsieur La Valiniere, resulting from his turbulent, daring, and ambitious disposition, which causes him to insult everybody in general with his verses, and he has even made insulting remarks from the pulpit to his parishioners, by whom he is greatly hated.

That Monsieur Peyroux did not fail to reply to the satirical verses of Monsieur La Viliniere I cannot deny; but if it is so, I do not find it a very serious fault, for it is natural for a person who is attacked to defend himself, especially those who pretend to be poets, such as Monsieur Peyroux. I have written to him and told him what you directed me to say, urging him to try to preserve harmony, and never mix in matters which do not concern him.

As to the aforesaid Montiny, there are proofs that it is true that he put a paper on the door of the church at Kaskaskia, but I am told that this person is no longer in these districts, and that he has gone down the river.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 18, 1788.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

HUTCHINS TO CLARK

*December 20, 1788*<sup>177</sup>

FORT PITT *Decembr. 20<sup>th</sup> 1788*

MY DEAR FRIEND.

If you receive this Letter it will most probably be handed to You by our Friend Colonel Morgan of Prospect New Jersey who has in Contemplation to become a Subject of Spain and to make an Establishment on the West Side of the Mississippi in a favourable Situation and has indeed entered into some Arrangements to reconnoitre the Country previous to waiting on the Governor of New Orleans, which he means to do as soon as he has satisfied himself in the Situa-

<sup>177</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

tion for a City and in the Quality of the surrounding Lands— Should Colonel Morgan find Encouragement in these and other Respects as I have every Reason to believe he will, he will depopulate New Jersey, this, and the Kentucky Country of all its best Inhabitants, Farmers, Tradesmen and Mechanics, who will take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Spain and become most excellent Subjects. I believe Colonel Morgan wishes a Situation high up the River, or near to the Ohio— Already the Eyes of the People are opened by his means—but every thing must depend on his Reception at New Orleans, which from Mr. Gardoqui's warm Recommendation, and the liberal Principles of the Governor, and the Government, I doubt not but will be Agreeable— The Settlers with Colonel Morgan will stand in no need of pecuniary aids from Government— On the contrary there will be hundreds of good Capitals—and hundreds more will soon follow under his Banner. Should he be received as I expect he will, I am resolved myself to become a Spanish Subject— You know I have some good Lands near the Natchez which the Governor of New Orleans I am told has generously directed to be preserved for me.

I still continue to enjoy a handsome appointment as Geographer to the United States, which I mean to resign should Colonel Morgan meet with an agreeable Reception at New Orleans &c.— Perhaps an officer in my Line may be useful and desirable to Government— Will you speak to the Governor on this Head, & write to me by Colonel Morgan, when he returns to New York—

I remain with most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Clark

Dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend

Tho: HUTCHINS

DANIEL CLARK Esq<sup>r</sup>.

#### REPORT OF AMERICANS ARRIVING AT NATCHEZ

*December 31, 1788*<sup>178</sup>

Report of the families and single men who have come from the American posts above and the Chactas, from the 2nd of October to the 29th of December, 1788, with declaration of districts and of the effects they have brought.

<sup>178</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2361.

FORT PITT	Men	Women	Children	Single men	Total of individuals	Negroes	Horses	Cows	Flour
<i>Families</i>									
Roberto Cochran				1	1				10
Juan Land				1	1				
Louis Liveing				1	1				
Hugh Bonney				1	1				
George Holsten				1	1				
Henry Duls				1	1				
<i>CUMBERLAND</i>									
Josiah Rundell				1	1				
Rubin McGoubick				1	1				
Seth Rundell				1	1				
Joucha Hayward	1	1	5		7	5	9		
John Elherington				1	1		2		
<i>CONNECTICUT</i>									
George Seldon				1	1				
<i>FROM THE CHACTA NATION</i>									
Wm. Basset	1	1	4		6	1		80	
Wm. Miller	1	1	1		3			32	
Benjamin Fooy <sup>179</sup>	1	1	2		4	1	18		
<i>KENTUCKY</i>									
Thomas Rud				1	1				
Adam Beckly				1	1				
John Hamlet				1	1				
<i>PENNSYLVANIA</i>									
Andrew Walher				1	1				
Totals	4	4	12	15	35	7	29	112	10

NATCHEZ, *December 31, 1788*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

# PROCLAMATION BY GENERAL ST. CLAIR

*January 22, 1789*<sup>180</sup>

## *A Proclamation*

By His Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio and Commissioner Plenipotentiary, for removing all causes of Controversy between the Indians in the Northern department, and the United States.

<sup>179</sup> Described in the declaration of Labbadie, July 5, 1782, above, pp. 29-30.

<sup>180</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 193 (English).

To all persons to whome these Presents Shall come  
Greeting—

Whereas a Treaty was concluded at Fort Harmar on the 9th day of January in this p[r]esent year, With the Wyandot, Delaware, Chipewa, Ottawa, Putawatimas and Six Nations of Indians and the United States, Whereby Peace and Friendship has been renewed, and confirmed between the United States and the before-mentioned Indian Nations: All the Citizens and Subjects of the United States are hereby required to take Notice of the Same, and to abstain from every act of Hostility Injury or Injustice to the said Nations; and every Individual of the Said Nations, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril—

Given under my hand and Seal at MARIETTA in the County of Washington and Territory of the United States, North West of the Ohio—this *22 day of January 1789*.

A<sup>R</sup>. ST. CLAIR (Rubric)

God Save the United States

VALDES TO CAPTAIN GENERAL OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA

*January 24, 1789* <sup>181</sup>

MOST EXCELLENT SIR.

I send Your Excellency the two royal orders attached, by which the King has promoted to brigadiers of his royal armies Colonel Don Estevan Miró and Colonel Don Arturo O'Neill, governors of Louisiana and Pensacola.

All of which I report to Your Excellency at his royal order, so that Your Excellency may give these the proper handling.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

MADRID, *January 24, 1789*.

VALDES (Rubric)

Señor Captain General of Louisiana and Florida.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

As a result of what the governor of Louisiana set forth under date of March 8 last, No. 40, and in conformity with previous decisions and political and local considerations, the King has named Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to the governorship of Natchez, with two thousand pesos yearly salary. The said official is to be given five hundred pesos more per year than the salary allotted him in view of the extraordinary expenses that will be occasioned him under the present circumstances.

<sup>181</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.

All of which I advise Your Excellency at his royal order for your information and compliance, at the same time enclosing the order regarding the aforesaid governorship.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

MADRID, *February 7, 1789.*

VALDES (Rubric)

Señor Captain General of Louisiana.

# PASSPORT OF JOSEF DIEPA

*February 10, 1789*<sup>182</sup>

Don Estevan Miró, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor and Intendant General of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida:

I grant free and safe passport to Josef Antonio Diepa to go with his wife and three children to Havana in the brigantine *Amable Luisa*, and from there to Puerto Rico, his native land, and I ask that no obstacle be put in the way of his journey.

Given at NEW ORLEANS, *February 10, 1789.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

By order of His Lordship.

ANDRÉS LÓPEZ ARMESTO (Rubric)

[Endorsed:]

HAVANA, *April 4, 1789.*

Let the person mentioned in this license continue to his destination.

EZPELETA (Rubric)

# WHITE TO MIRÓ

*April 18, 1789*<sup>183</sup>

To his Excellency Don Estevan Miró Governor of the Province of Louisiana

SIR: As you have been pleased to direct, I present your Excellency in writing, the substance of what M<sup>r</sup>. Gardoqui has engaged me in.

That gentlemen in the character of Minister of Spain authorised me to insinuate to the western americans in general, that Spain would upon favorable terms grant her protection to them, to form a connection with the King's government separate from any other. Insinuations have been made accordingly, & the people have manifested a strong bias towards what has been proposed.

With respect of Franklin in particular; the spanish minister gave me letters to their leading men, & directed me to assure them, from his authority, that if it was their wish to come under the protection of spain, & into its allegiance, they should be protected in their

<sup>182</sup> BL.

<sup>183</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

civil police, & internal government most agreeable to themselves on the following terms:

1. "that they shall make it a prerequisite [not] only of possessing any office, but to holding any lands among them that an oath of allegiance to the King be previously taken to defend his government, as faithful allies, upon all occasions, & against all his enemies whatsoever.

2. to abjure the authority of & dependence on, any other power." To these conditions they have cheerfully consented; & the minister has referred them to your favorable patronage, & assistance, in this first step to a more extensive connection.

Your Excellency is so acquainted with the circumstances of the united States that it will be improper to remark on the occasion. The advantages that both parties have to expect from & the favorable juncture of american affairs, for such a plan, will best occur to yourself.

But as I have been made instrumental in spiriting up many of the principal people to act in a manner that will preclude us from living in peace under the government of North Carolina; & as this has been done reposing confidence in the encouragement & assurances of a minister sanctioned with the royal authority; I hope it will be deemed reasonable to entreat that something may be done to give them a refuge under the King's protection: & if the instructions hitherto received from his Majesty do not exactly authorise you to grant what M<sup>r</sup>. Gardoqui imagined might be conceded, I hope your wisdom & benevolence will propose something as near it as you may think consistent.

With respect to Cumberland from whence you have had the late accounts; we comprehended that country in the same view; & the circumstances of which you have lately been informed were probably in consequence of letters I brought to Col<sup>o</sup>. Robison, from M<sup>r</sup>. Gardoqui.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obed<sup>t</sup>. & humb. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES WHITE

NEW ORLEANS, *Ap<sup>t</sup>. 18, 1789.*

MIRÓ TO ROBERTSON

*April 20, 1789*<sup>184</sup>

NEW ORLEANS *the 20th April 1789*

SIR: I received your's of 29th January last & am highly pleased in seeing the good intentions of the People of that District, & know-

<sup>184</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).



ing the falsehood of the report we heard they are willing to attack this Province. You ought to make the same account of the bad that the Indians have been excited in this Province against you, since I wrote quite the contrary at different times to Alexander McGillivray to induce him to make peace & lastly he answered that he gave his word to the Governor of North Carolina that the Creeks would not trouble again those settlements notwithstanding after the letter I received from you, and other from Brigadier general Daniel Smith Esq<sup>r</sup>. I will write to him engaging him to be not more troublesome to you.

I have not any connexion with Cheraquis, & Mascutin but as they go now and then to the Yllinois; I will give advice to that Commander to induce them to be quiet, in respect to the former in the Mont of May of last year. they asked the permission of settling themselves on the west side of Misisipi River, which is granted, & if they act accordingly you plainly see you will be quite free from their incursions.

I will give the Passport you ask for your son-in-law, & I will be highly pleased with his coming down to settle in this Province, & much more if you and your family should come along with him, since I can assure you that you will find here your welfare, without being either molested on religious matters, or paying any duty, & with the circumstance of finding always market for your crops, which makes every one of the planters settled at Natchez, & elsewhere to improve every day much more so than if they were to purchase the lands, as they are granted gratis.

Mr. White the Bearer thereof deeply interested in the happenings of those settlements will circumstantially tell you everything I charged him to refer you as for the trade his Majesty granted them as for other circumstances for which reason I refer myself to him again in everything.

I wish to be useful to you being with regard  
Sir, Your most ob<sup>t</sup>. h<sup>e</sup>. Servant

[Draft by MIRÓ]

Colonel JAMES ROBERTSON Esq<sup>r</sup>.

#### MIRÓ'S OFFER TO WESTERN AMERICANS

*April 20, 1789*<sup>185</sup>

Stephen Miró Colonel of his most catholic Majesty Forces, Commander in chief in and over the Province of Louisiana & West Florida & Intendant of the same

Whereas Mr. James White Esq<sup>r</sup>. applied to me in behalf of Frank-

<sup>185</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

lin's District & that of Miro, formerly Cumberland, in whose welfare he showed himself deeply interested I duly do appoint & authorice the aforesaid Mr. White to make known to the Inhabitants of the afore mentioned Districts how much my most gracious Sovereign is inclined to favor and protect them by the only motive of generosity, being acquainted of the great interest they will meet with in the following Articles.

1. It will be permitted to every good Inhabitant to come down & settle in the Province of Louisiana either at Natchés or any other place of both Mississippi's shores. they will not be molested on religious matters, although no other publick worship will be permitted to be publickly exercised than that of Roman Catholic Church. Land shall be granted gratis to them at their arrival in proportion of the hands, or facultys each Family should have. they will have the liberty of importing all their property in any produce whatsoever of the Country without duty, with the absolute freedom to dispose of the said property in the Posts they should pass by or in this town: in the meantime they ought to be acquainted that they must bring with them provisions for the first year and as has been done by those that have come down till this time, immediately after their arrival they shall enjoy the same franchises & privileges as the other subjects of his most catholic Majesty, under the condition they shall at the same time take the due oath of allegiance & bound themselves only to take up arms in defense of this Province against Whatsoever enemy who could attempt to invade it.

2. His most gracious Majesty generously grants the inhabitants of these Districts the trade with this town, & so they will be able to bring down Pelletry, tobbaeco, flower, provisions, & every other produce of their own country which will be in their power to sell at their own pleasure, although they shall not pretend their tobacco to be taken for his Majestys account, if it is not wanted. this trade carried on by those who should not choose to settle in this Province can not be permitted but under the duty of fifteen per cent which is in my power to diminish in favor of men of influence, who should apply to obtain this favor, & who should be made known to me by Mr. White medium.

3. Upon the proposal the aforementioned Gentleman made me respecting the wishes of those Districts in order to make a connexion with the Court of Spain, after disevering themselves from the United States it is not in my power to stipulate anything, nor to promote the scheme: because the good understanding subsistent between his most catholic Majesty & the United States prevents it: for that same reason the Inhabitants of the afore mentioned Districts ought to promote the idea more convenient to their own interest, & should it happen that they could obtain their absolute independence from the United States

then his Majesty will grant them the favor, succours & other advantages consistent with his royal bounty, & agreeable to the situation wherein they should find themselves, & compatible with the interests of his crown.

Given under my hand and sealed at Arms countersigned by the Secretary for his Majesty of this Province at New Orleans the twentyeth of April one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

[Draft by MIRÓ]

VALDES TO CAPTAIN GENERAL OF FLORIDA

*April 21, 1789*<sup>186</sup>

As per the contents of your letters No. 44 and 63, dated November 27, and February 12, the King has been informed that the deserters who left the party of Bowles passed on to the city of St. Augustine, Florida. He is also aware of the progress being made by the expedition headed by him to the Creeks, and other details on the same matter which Your Lordship communicated in your two abovementioned letters.

This is for your own guidance.

May God keep you many years.

ARANJUEZ, *April 21, 1789*.

VALDES (Rubric)

Captain General of Florida.

LAND GRANT IN MORGAN'S COLONY

*April 25, 1789*<sup>187</sup>

NEW MADRID, *April 22<sup>d</sup>—1789*

SIR: Be pleased to grant to me my Heirs and Assigns Farm Number four on the south side of the fourth North Range New Madrid District.

Containing three hundred & twenty Acres for which I engage to pay to you your Heirs or Assigns Forty eight Mexican Dollars with lawful Interest from the date hereof and to comply with your Conditions of Settlement on Record

EDWARD WRIGHT

To Colonel GEORGE MORGAN.

Application No.— Received April 22<sup>d</sup> 1789 and granted April 25<sup>th</sup> 1789 Possession to be taken & a Family placed on the Premises on or before the first day of May 1790.

Recorded by me

GEORGE MORGAN

SAM STILLMAN JUN<sup>R</sup>.

Secretary

<sup>186</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.

<sup>187</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 202 (English).

MIRÓ TO SMITH

*April 27, 1789*<sup>188</sup>NEW ORLEANS 27<sup>th</sup> April 1789

SIR: I acknowledge the favour of your Excellency's letter of 4<sup>th</sup>. March last in which after mentioning which concerns to the particular affairs of Mr. Fagot, your Excellency express the great confidence you have in him, & refer yourself to for any further intelligence respecting that District.

By the answer I gave to the proposals of Mr. White Esq<sup>r</sup>. who will deliver you this, you will see how ready his most Catholick Majesty is to support, & promote the welfare of the Inhabitants of that District: the same will be convenient to the application done by Mr. Fagot, adding only that I anxiously expect the consequences of the operation you are to transact in September next, & for my own part I can assure you that I will endeavour as much as it lays in my power for the support, and prosperity of those Inhabitants.

I avail myself of this opportunity, because the particular interests of Mr. Fagot will not perhaps permit him to visit your Country so soon.

You can depend upon that you shall have the same right and privilege I mentioned in the answer delivered to Mr. White, to the diminution of the dutys, which will be six per cent, for all you may send on your own private account.

With regard that you say respecting the Indians, on which the aforesaid Mr. White also spoke me very particularly I tell you that I induced Mr. Alexander McGillivray to make peace with the District under your Command, & in answer to this he sais that he promised to the Governor of North Carolina that Indian Creeks will not make warr in that Quarter: nevertheless I am about to writte him that since the receipt of yours I am more warmly concerned in it.

I have not any connexion with Cheroquis & Mascuten Indians, notwithstanding as they now and then present themselves at Yllinois I will give advice to that Commander to induce them to be peacefull. the former waited on the said Commander in the Month of May of last year & asked permission of settling themselves on the west side of Mississipi River, which is granted, & if they settle themselves there I think it would be the best service could be done for those inhabitants on this account.

I have had the greatest satisfaction in the honour I received in being acquainted that the Inhabitants of your District have distinguish my name with the preferring it for the denomination of that Country, which impels me more and more toward their increase

<sup>188</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

and prosperity, wishing the inhabitants be happy, & enjoy the tranquillity they aim at, for which I pray the Almighty God.

I am extremely flattered with the proposal you make me of holding a mutual correspondence, in which I expect to find motives to serve you, being with the most sincere regard and esteem

Sir Your most ob<sup>t</sup>. h<sup>o</sup>. Servant

[Draft by Miró]

His Excellency DAN<sup>l</sup>. SMITH Brig<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. & Commander of Miró District &ca &ca &ca

# PETITION OF PEOPLE OF ARKANSAS TO DECLARE WAR ON THE OSAGE

*May 8, 1789*<sup>189</sup>

TO SEÑOR DON JOSEPH VALLIERE, CAPTAIN OF THE REGIMENT OF INFANTRY OF LOUISIANA AND COMMANDANT OF THE POST AND DISTRICT OF CARLOS III OF ARKANSAS.

The hunters and inhabitants of the aforesaid post and river of Arkansas whose signatures appear below, lay before Your Lordship with the most profound humility their present state of great poverty, for they are not able to support their families or to pay their debts. The reason for this is that we are robbed by the Osages not only of the products of the hunt but even of our shirts. The Osages take our scalps and carry them to their villages; we are left without any means to help ourselves, and this year we have all been in the same condition. This is very grievous to us, for this river is of great value.

Therefore—

We humbly petition Your Lordship, in view of the above, to be pleased to communicate it to the governor general of this province with the object that he may permit us to go to war against the said Osages. We are all of one accord in requesting that we be given aid with the object of destroying them, for we believe it will be easy. In this way the river will be free. Those who cannot go will pay, each according to his means.

We hope to receive this favor from the well-known kindness of Your Lordship.

ARKANSAS, *May 8, 1789.*

J. B<sup>t</sup>. DUCHASSIN (Rubric),  
PIERRE MEZIERES,  
IRA TASSER (Rubric),  
JAQUES LANGLIS (Rubric)  
JOHN CUMMONS,

ANTOINE BAUVAIS.  
J. B<sup>t</sup>. DES REVISSEAUX,  
J<sup>n</sup>. B<sup>t</sup>. DUPLACE (Rubric),  
ANTOINE TRANQUAS (Rubric),  
PATRICK McLOSKEY,

GEORGE LEAR,	FRANTZ GRINLIG,
LUKES ROSHLAY,	BAYIET LE CLER,
GABRIEL MENARD (Rubric),	JOSEPH TRUDOT,
MICHAL GRINLIG,	JOSE LE DIEU,
MICHAL DUBOL,	JOPHE BAUGI,

## PEOPLE OF NEW MADRID TO PEREZ

*May 30, 1789*<sup>190</sup>

SIR: The underwritten Subscribers Citizens of New Madrid In the territory of his most Catholic Majesty (The King of Spain) being impressed with the most ardent Wishes to forward & promote the Immediate Settlement of This Country with our Friends and Neighbours resident in The United States of America, have heard with the Utmost regret that Reports highly Injurious to this Territory hath been propagated by those who have Left This place in Disgust, and are now prevalent In many parts of the Federal Government, in such a Degree that we fear we never shall have the pleasure of the Society of Friends and Neighbours. In order to erase those ill founded Conceptions, founded on an untrue Representation We most humbly beg leave to present Captain John Ward to you, a Gentleman who hath undertaken for us, to Immediately Convey himself into the United States via New Orleans to shew our Friends and Neighbours a true State of This Country taken by his own Observation, & from the Information of Men in whome we confidentially Rely, for which & to expedite this Business we farther pray that you will furnish him with Letters Recomendatory to his Excellency The Governor of New Orleans, & we shall ever be in Duty bound to pray & for you Sir entertain sentiments of the most Perfect Regard and Esteem &c—

MOSES LUNSFORD	DAVID RANKIN
ADAM HOUSE	JAMES RANKIN
JOHN STEWART	THOMAS DAVIS
ISACK THOMSON	ANDREW CURRY
FRANCIS PERKINS	JAMES STARKEY
AZER REES	JAMES WILLIAMS
JAMES PRIDE	SAM <sup>L</sup> . MORRIS
JOSEPH STOREY	NAT <sup>L</sup> . IRISH, JR.
JAMES McDONALD	ROB <sup>T</sup> . HINKSON
BENJ <sup>A</sup> . DAVIS	ALEXANDER REDOR
WM. BYRD	

<sup>190</sup> BL, (English).

TO DON MANUEL PEREZ, *Commandt. at St. Lewis.*

I do hereby testify that the above Subscribers are Inhabitants of New Madrid Given under my hand 30th May 1789.

BENJ. HARRISON  
*Super<sup>t</sup>. N. M.*

[Addressed:]

DON MANUEL PEREZ  
*Commandant at St. Lewis.*  
Hand'd by Capt<sup>n</sup>. Ward.

VALDES TO CAPTAIN GENERAL OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA

*June 3, 1789*<sup>190a</sup>

From Your Lordship's letter of March 21, last, No. 63, the King has taken note of the news communicated to Your Lordship by the Governor of St. Augustine about Connolly's project against the Province of Louisiana. For this reason Your Lordship recalled as an opportune remedy the approval of White's project, which I communicated to Your Lordship with confidential order of March 23.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 3, 1789.*

VALDES (Rubric)

Señor Captain General of Louisiana and Florida.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*June 8, 1789*<sup>191</sup>

No. 83.

I am forwarding to Your Lordship a memorial which has been sent to me by the new inhabitants of New Madrid. I leave Colonel Don George Morgan in that settlement, so that through him your Lordship may be informed of the reasons which they give why Captain John Ward, one of those inhabitants, should go in the name of all of them to their country of America for the purpose of informing others, who are disposed to come and unite with them, of the advantageous conditions of the country which they have chosen for their settlement and the many advantages which result to them. They ask me at the same time to beg Your Lordship to have the goodness to give to the aforesaid John Ward an instruction signed by Your Lordship listing all the favors and advantages that His Majesty has

<sup>190a</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.

<sup>191</sup> BL.

accorded to all those who may wish to come and settle in his royal dominions.

They wish to do this in order to contradict the unfavorable information which has been given, and to attract to their company all those who had determined to take this step when they themselves left that country, and who, it seems from information received, are now hesitating to do it because discouraging reports have been circulated among them by one of those who returned to bring their families. This person is influenced, as Your Lordship will be better informed by John Ward himself, by the pique which he feels from having had a quarrel with Don George Morgan at the time of his departure; and I am assured that the man in question has a good deal of influence among his compatriots, on account of having served as colonel in the war, and that he may be able to counterbalance with his influence that of Colonel Don George Morgan.

It would be a pity for us to lose the opportunity offered for increasing these settlements. For this reason it seems to me it would be an excellent thing for Your Lordship to give Ward instructions for this purpose, as it is certain that with it he can combat all the bad ideas they may have conceived and the unfavorable reports which have been given to them, and without doubt on his return he will be followed by a large number of families.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *June 8, 1789.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

VALDES TO CAPTAIN GENERAL OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA

*June 30, 1789*<sup>122</sup>

It is prescribed in Royal Ordinance of October 30, 1760, that in order for a subaltern officer to contract marriage with a woman who is not the daughter of an officer, the latter must establish the equality of their circumstances, and that she has more than sufficient property in proportion to the pay of the officer with whom she intends to be married, even though he has such himself. Doubts have frequently arisen regarding the estimation of these means of contracting parties, and in order to dispel them, the King has been pleased to declare on the advice of the Council of War, that both in Spain and in America the property established by women who are to marry subaltern officers must be equal and consist of three thousand pesos *fuertes*, whether they are of noble rank or commoners, not excepting the

<sup>122</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.



daughters of military men, who, although they are not obliged to bring a dowry, must establish that they have such means. It will not be sufficient that the said subalterns enjoy separately means themselves, or that these are made up between the two contracting parties, with the understanding that this applies not only to the daughters of military men, but also to those who are not such.

I so advise Your Lordship at the order of His Majesty so that, having had this his Royal Declaration published in the district under your command, it may be precisely observed.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

MADRID, *June 30, 1789.*

VALDES (Rubric)

Señor Governor and Captain General of Louisiana and Florida.

#### PROCLAMATION BY COMMANDANT PEYROUX

*August 1, 1789*<sup>193</sup>

#### REGULATIONS FOR L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE

The village shall be divided into lots of two arpents on each side. The streets shall be straight and have a width of thirty-six feet. The cross streets shall be at right angles to those which end at the Mississippi.

The Illinois highway, traced from the Mississippi to the prairie, shall be a half arpent wide in all its length, even beyond the prairie. When it shall have been cleared, a row of trees shall be planted on either side to furnish shade to the travelers and the animals so that it may be used as a boulevard.

The direction of the streets which end at the Mississippi shall be the same as that of the highway; that is to say, fifteen degrees northwest, except in the American village where they have been drawn from north to south because of the direction of the river in that locality.

At least one house shall be built on lots of one square arpent. Two lots on the highway shall be reserved for the government, one on the right side of the road and one across it on the left.

These lots shall be separated from the Mississippi only by those belonging to Monsieurs Crepau and Bourbon Ste. Marie. Thus they shall be the third lots going from the Mississippi to the prairie on the highway.

Each inhabitant may have a section of thirty-two arpents depth in the prairie by four arpents of width, and those who have settled at L'Anse à la Graisse first shall have the choice.

The general direction of these sections shall be the same as that

<sup>193</sup> BL, (French).

of the highway, and eight parallel houses shall form a large block surrounded with free roads on the four sides, without any fences on these roads.

After the establishment of the first row of houses, other large blocks of the same size will be formed back into the interior until tillable land is no longer available.

As cypress trees are common there, the inhabitants shall use them to build enclosures for their animals on their lands if they wish to raise many. A common enclosure is useful only to a few individuals who have a great many animals, and it is absolutely harmful to the other people because the small number of animals which they require for their daily uses gets lost in these large common enclosures. Much time is needed to go and search for them there; furthermore, a common enclosure is never kept completely closed, and when there are holes in the fence a long time goes by without anybody noticing them. Finally, these large enclosures use up the best lands and the ones nearest the villages. This makes all the labors and the transportation of goods more difficult and more expensive, and the inhabitants' income is cut in half.

The inhabitants of L'Anse à la Graisse shall place stakes for their houses not later than this year, and they shall labor unremittingly to make the roads and the streets passable to carriages.

PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENIERE (Rubric)

Given at NEW MADRID, *1st of August, 1789.*

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*August 11, 1789* <sup>194</sup>

I went to the post of Rapide in regard to the matter of the demarcations of the boundaries which Your Lordship was pleased to fix between that post and this one under my command. In the presence of Don Etienne Layssard I called a meeting of all the nations of Indians of that district in order to make them acquainted with place where they are assigned so that in future the chiefs of each nation shall not be permitted to scatter their Indians along the shore with their habitations considerable distance apart. By this plan two benefits will result: first, by keeping those Indians all together in the same village they will have less opportunity for stealing horses and committing other depredations because their chiefs will be present; second, they will not ruin the lands of this river, as they have done in other years, by abandoning them and taking others after raising two or three crops. It is not just that the families whom Your

Lordship has directed to come and settle in this district shall find the best lands occupied or ruined by this sort of people.

I also spoke very strongly to the chiefs of those nations in regard to the bad faith which they have shown for some years in not compelling the Indians under their control to pay Don Valentin Laysard the debts which they have owed him for a long time, and which are due to Don Juan Bautista Macarty. I warned them that, if it were not done between now and the month of March of the coming year, it would cause great offense to Your Lordship and the commandants where they have their residence. Afterwards I spoke to them with more kindness, presenting more details applicable to the case, and all agreed with the greatest seriousness that they would pay within the time I had just designated, and that those who were unable to make good the debt in deer skins or bear fat should pay in horses. This was the result of my trip to Rapide, of which I inform you for your information.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *August 11, 1789.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

ROBERTSON TO MIRÓ

*September 2, 1789*<sup>195</sup>

NASHVILLE *September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1789*

Sir

I must beg your Excellency's permission to take this early opportunity of thanking you for the honor you did me in writing by M<sup>r</sup>. White.

I Still hope that your Government and these Settlements, are destined to be mutually friendly and usefull, the people here are impressed with the necessity of it.—

We have just held a Convention; which has agreed that our members shall insist on being Separated from North Carolina.—

Unprotected, we are to be obedient to the New Congress of the United States: but we cannot but wish for a more interesting Connection.—

The United States afford us no protection. The District of Miro is daily plundered and its inhabitants murdered by the Creeks, and Cherokees, unprovoked. your removeing the latter Savages would bind us, ever to remain a gratefull people.—

For my own part, I conceive highly of the advantages of your immediate Government. But my estate, here, is Such that I could

<sup>195</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

not flatter myself to equal it by removeing to any part; our lands Satisfying my utmost wishes and being infinitely before anything I have seen elsewhere.—

I thank you for the diminution of the duties in my favor.—

I have the honor to be,

your most obedient, and most

Humble Servant.—

JAMES ROBERTSON

VALLIERE TO FILHIOL

*September 10, 1789*<sup>196</sup>

Answered October 7th.

ARKANSAS, *10th of September 1789.*

SIR: I have been unable to fulfill your orders to return to Louis Toutain the horses which he has released here, as well as the ones which belong to you, despite my good will and my desire to be of service to you. I shall give orders to have them turned over to those whom you shall commission, as I have had the honor of informing you through Monsieur Menard, who is loth to tell you about the slight chance there is of your being repaid by Antoine Janis. In connection with this you may be sure that I shall do everything possible to have this debt settled.

I have learned from Monsieur Bayone that the Miami who were brought down to the city by one Pinet, stated that I had permitted them the entrance to this river. It is just the contrary; seeing that I had refused it to them as I had done to the Abenaky, they passed by the upper lands and came out on your side where it seems that this Pinet wants to attract them for his own interests. If once they settle there, and if you allow them to stay there, you will see, Sir, that your colony will teem with a quantity of Shawnee, Abenaky, etc., who will not be long in clearing your land of all kinds of game and in allying themselves with the Osage. Those are the reasons which have prompted me up to now to refuse to both of them the entrance to the Arkansas River.

The half-breed who has one blue eye and the other one black, and his uncle called Pacane, are capable of giving evil counsel to the Caddo, and have almost caused them to have a war with the Arkansas. Their chief, Voytonika, is to go to see you and to find out at the same time the state of mind of the Caddo. He wants to come to an agreement with them about not receiving any foreign red men unless their father allows them to do so. If the Caddo do not agree

<sup>196</sup> BL, (French).

to this kind of treaty, I think that I shall have much trouble preventing a war between them, although up to now they have been inclined to do as I said.

Here, Sir, is an appearance of trouble, caused by village runners, to whom Chief Voytonika has said in my presence, "You resemble clouds that run without leaving a trail and that fall, but I do not want you to come on our land; there is plenty of it elsewhere."

I have the honor of being, most sincerely, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

VALLIERE (Rubric)

To Monsieur FILHIOL.

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*September 30, 1789*<sup>197</sup>

No. 18.

On behalf of Your Lordship I have caused the man named Bicheda to be recognized as chief of the Great Caddo. I delivered to him Your Lordship's commission with the large medal of merit, the banner, and uniforms. These objects were issued to me from the general storehouse of this province together with the presents for the Indians of this jurisdiction, which were also distributed to the respective nations. I inform Your Lordship of this for your information. Among the said presents were thirty jugs of brandy which were consumed on the journey as a result of the bad character of the corporal. For this reason it was necessary for me to buy the thirty jugs of brandy in this post at one peso a jug, and if Your Lordship thinks proper you will be pleased to order that I be reimbursed for the thirty pesos or that I be given the same amount of brandy.

I must tell Your Lordship that the Comanche, Tawehash, Wichita, Yscanis, and Tawakoni formed an army of 700 warriors and went to fall upon the Osage, with all the success that might be expected. This advantage has encouraged them to such an extent that in the spring of the coming year they intend to collect many more in order to enter the Osage village itself. If this happens I shall inform Your Lordship and also make known to you the results.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *September 30, 1789.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## MCGILLIVRAY TO PANTON

*October 8, 1789*<sup>198</sup>LITTLE TALLASSIE, 8<sup>th</sup>. *October, 1789.*

DEAR SIR: I arrived three days ago from the Oconee, sick, disgusted & fatigued to death. From this beginning you will imagine that matters did not go on to my mind; however I will proceed with my story, and you will see.

After a tedious journey down, I made the first halt at 18 miles from the Rock landing, when Commissioner Osburn, Colonel Clark (Son to the General) and some other Officers arrived in my Camp, welcoming my arrival. Osburn informed me that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Pickens was not arrived, but would be on the ground at the time appointed. A few days after the General arrived, and the next day they received an express from Augusta, informing that a new appointment had been made by Washington & Congress, that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Lincoln, Col. Humphrys an Aid of Washingtons & a Mr. Griffin late President of Congress, were the new Commissioners.

Jo Clay in a letter to Billy Clark observed that "so respectable an Embassy and the Troops accompanying them would no doubt obtain an awful impression on the minds of the Indians, as would be productive of the best consequences; at same time no doubt but they would proscribe the late iniquitous proceedings of the Land Speculators, who had brought on the Indian War." To be plain with you, my expectations on the occasion were sanguine, that such an appointment was purposely made to give us full and ample satisfaction in regard to our Land grievances, and that we should conclude a peace on as broad a bottom as one of Fox's or Shelburnes; but mark the end.

After the ceremony of mutual visits at our respective Camps, we proceeded to open the treaty, which I insisted should be conducted and concluded in my Camp; to which with some reluctance they assented, and the next day they came over to our Camp, when Gen<sup>l</sup>. Lincoln gave out his Talk, and then put it, a Copy of his Commission and a draft of the intended Treaty into my hands, to consider of at leisure and give an answer. In the evening I assembled the Chiefs in my Tent, and explained the whole to them, together with the exceptionable parts of the Draft of Treaty. My particular objections were naturally enough pointed at the 2<sup>d</sup>. Article, which ran that all the Tribes and Individuals of the lower & upper Creeks, the Chiefs for themselves & Towns, & Tribes within the limits of the United States, do acknowledge the Creeks to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other Sovereign whosoever; and also that they are not to hold any Treaty with any State whatsoever. This I objected

<sup>198</sup> BL, (English). A copy.

to, on the ground that it tended to annul the Treaties which we had already concluded with Spain, by which we held and enjoyed the most essential and important benefits and advantages; as well as it went to overthrow every pretension we had to an independent situation and while they demanded important sacrifices from us, they on their part hold out to us, not the shade of an equivalent advantage for it.

The 3<sup>d</sup>. Article related to boundary: to which I objected, on the ground that it by no means tended to remove our discontents; as not only that they insisted on a confirmation of all the Oconee Lands and the Southern branches, the encroachments on which by the Georgians was the sole cause of the contest between us; but that they went farther and demanded over the Georgian pretensions to the River St. Marys, including all the Islands & Streams of said River, the branches of which intersected the waters of St. Johns in East Florida on the one side, and the branches on the other, spread out to the midst of the Semanolia Villages, and all Oka Finnika swamps &<sup>a</sup>. &<sup>a</sup>.

In the morning I sent over a letter stating that we all concurred in objecting to the 2<sup>d</sup>. & 3<sup>d</sup>. Articles; upon which Col. Humphries came over to argue me out of my objections, but he did not succeed, and came over the two following days; and having no communication with Lincoln & Griffin, I concluded that they pitted that Gentleman against me, being fluent of speech, and a great boaster of his political knowledge, and his assisting at the former Treaty, with the Courts of Versailles, Berlin &<sup>a</sup>. He shifted his ground, modes of attack in various shapes. The acts of flattery, ambition and of intimidation were exhausted in vain. I at last told him by G— I would not have such a Treaty cram'd down my throat. On his departure I told my Warriors that it was in vain to expect to bring them to do us the justice we wanted; my opinion was that as we came in a body, so we should retreat as peaceably as we came, and not to be laying there wrangling with them, lest bad consequences might ensue: So the next day I removed back to the Okmulgee where I was overtaken by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Pickens, Col<sup>s</sup>. Few & Sanders, with the Holloing King. We had a long conversation, but I would not by any means consent to return to the Rock Landing, without they would pledge themselves that the Commissioners would consent to treat us as we wanted on equal terms: This they could not do so I remained obstinate to my purpose and came on.

Pickens I take to be a worthy moderate man: We got well acquainted, and I am sure if he had remained in his appointment, we should have come to some agreement.

On the whole I trust that our friends will approve of my conduct in this late Negotiation, as I was resolved to be the honest man, and

not sacrifice the interests of our friends and our own political good faith, to private interest and mercenary motives. I had notice that Washington had sent me various valuable presents, as a mark of his friendship, but I would receive nothing. To spare myself the mortification of a disagreeable interview, I decamped without the ceremony of taking leave. As I had a letter from Knox the American Secretary at War as I left the Nation, I have to answer it; and I will communicate thro' him to Washington the whole particulars of the late Negotiation, and the cause of its being interrupted; advising that I shall be ready to renew them in the Spring in the Nation, and not out of it.

My Warriors behaved with great propriety; I forbid any to accept the least present, if we did not wholly agree. I had nine hundred chosen men with me, and not a man would accept of any thing: The Commissioners had about four hundred men in arms with them.

I must confess that I was much attended to by all ranks there, and made many who had always professed themselves my bitter Enemies, change their sentiments after a short acquaintance. I did not see McQueen, but I saw Billy Clark: he was desirous to get out again to Beards Bluff, and fifty more Adventurours if peace had been fully concluded.

The operation of the new Constitution is much dreaded by most of the better sort of the upper Gentry. In conversation with some of them, they asked me when & where I was going to settle my new State, for there was about 1500 families waiting my pleasure in Georgia. I trifled with and amused them. Three or four Colonels & Majors have bound themselves to correspond with me, and give me the soonest and best information of every public occurrence of their Country. A General and some Colonels, the most troublesome of our Neighbours, asked my opinion of coming out Westward: I encouraged them, as it is better to have them behind us than in our way. In short I have made one half traitors to their Country. What a sett of —? This Talk is a short warning: expect me early in November.

Dear Sir—Yours most truly

ALEX. MCGILLIVRAY.

Tom Black has just given me yours.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*October 8, 1789* <sup>199</sup>

No. 99.

I am informed by the copies of the two letters from the commandant of Arkansas sent to me by Your Lordship in your official com-



munication of June 3rd of this year, of the hostilities newly committed on that river by the Great Osage. In fulfillment of Your Lordship's orders to me in your official letter, I have despatched a letter to the chiefs and headmen of the Great Osage nation in which I ask them to bring to me the savage who killed the man named Enrique Rendel, whom they carried off, so that in my presence they may kill him, and at the same time replace all that they have stolen from the hunters of Arkansas. I make other charges against them in that letter as Your Lordship will see by the enclosed copy which I am sending you for this purpose.

I have also written at the same time to Don Silbestre Labadia, who is in that nation, asking him to compel them to fulfill all that I ask in my letter, and to assure them that, if they should not do so, they will be deprived of all assistance and will not have the least aid in any form. I also requested him to tell them about what was done by the Arkansas nation in a similar case in order to remain friends with us.

I hope that the Osage will be induced to give full satisfaction on this occasion, and in case they do not, as soon as it is made known to me, I shall determine upon some other measure, such as making some chief or headman prisoner, notwithstanding the fact that the circumstances of the present time are very different.

God keep your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *October 8, 1789.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*October 8, 1789* <sup>200</sup>

No. 100.

I have received with the official communication of Your Lordship of the third of June of this year the memorial sent by the hunters of Arkansas which I return to you enclosed. In this they solicit permission to make war on the Great Osage. In the same communication Your Lordship asks me to inform you whether it might cause any damage to these settlements. In answer to this I will inform Your Lordship that I made inquiries of different persons who know thoroughly this nation of the Osages, and they all agree in assuring me that the greater part of the nation disapproves of the Indians who commit hostilities on the Arkansas River, and that there are constant disagreements among them on this account. If these things are so, I

believe that wisdom requires that we shall support those who are favorably disposed in this nation, in order by means of them to repress and restrain the ill-intentioned.

Following out this principle, I determined to write the letter which I have sent as a talk to the chiefs and headmen, ordering them to bring to this post the one who killed the hunter whom they took from the Arkansas River, and to kill the guilty one in my presence. I ordered that furthermore they shall make compensation for the great amount that they have stolen on that river. If I succeed in having my demands complied with, I am assured that that district will be tranquil for some time, and by the punishment of the culprit a war will be avoided that cannot fail to be very prejudicial to these settlements, and much more so to the small district of Arkansas.

However, if there should be resistance on the part of this nation to giving up the aggressor, I will deprive it of every kind of merchandise and do all that I possibly can to prevent it from receiving anything from any other place. This may be done without declaring war, so that those who are ill-disposed would have the whole nation as their enemies. This may perhaps be a means to obtain what is asked of them without resorting to methods of violence and war which, in view of the circumstances of the time and the difference to-day in the situation of the country and its limited forces, might be very prejudicial to its inhabitants.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *October 8, 1789.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### PEREZ WARNS THE CHIEFS OF THE GREAT OSAGE <sup>201</sup>

Speech of Don Manuel Perez, captain of infantry, and lieutenant governor of the Western District of Illinois, to the chiefs, warriors, and headmen of the Great Osage nation, Clairmon, Jean Lafond, Labombarde, Le Mangeur de Canard, Le Gros Soldat, Naytapé, Mi-y-raïs, etc.

I have desired that my arrival in this country should cause the skies to be blue and the earth beautiful. In consequence I had begged your Great Father at New Orleans to forgive these massacres and robberies which you have committed on the Red River (of the Arkansas) two winters ago. To secure your pardon I told him that you came

<sup>201</sup> BL, (French).

here, you, Clairmon, Jean Lafond, Labombarde, Le Mangeur de Canard, and the warriors and headmen of your village, and that in a conference you had begged me to obtain mercy from him; that you promised in the name of all your nation that the lands of the Red River would never be troubled in the future and that you would let the white hunters of this river hunt in peace. As a consequence of this apparent regret for your past faults, and your promises as to the future, your Great Father, who is good, forgave you.

Where are now the promises which you made to me to obtain the mercy of your Great Father? Is it then that the chiefs, warriors, headmen, and braves of the village of the Great Osage speak without meaning what they say when they state and affirm that the lands of the Red River will always remain beautiful and that their nation would never trouble them? You will perhaps say to me as an excuse that it is a mad man who has disturbed them by killing a French hunter, that the nation had nothing to do with it, but on the contrary it disapproved the massacres and robberies which go on at this river. If the things were really so, and if the nation had not been responsible, would not the chiefs, warriors, and headmen have brought me of their own accord this dog who killed a hunter last winter, and would they not have killed him before me to show me that they really disapproved of all the bad treatment which the hunters of the Red River receive every day from them?

As I have seen here neither chiefs, nor warriors, nor headmen, nor braves from the nation of the Great Osage to inform me correctly and in person about this affair, the silence makes me almost believe that the whole nation is guilty. If it wishes to persuade me of the contrary through the word of the chiefs, you, Clairmon, Jean Lafond, Labombarde, Le Mangeur de Canard, Le Gros Soldat, Naitapé, Mi-y-rai, etc., you will bring me this murderer and you will kill him in my presence to prove to me that you have had no part in the murder which he has committed.

And if you do not bring me this dog, I shall deprive you of all sorts of goods, powder, guns, etc. and my words and my [messengers] will reach all the nations of the Missouri and the Mississippi to make them in the name of your Great Father strike you from all sides. Therefore, if you wish to give life to your wives and to your children, if you wish to keep it yourselves, you must, I warn you for the last time, be not long in bringing me this dog and the loot of the one whom you have robbed on the Red River.

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*October 10, 1789*<sup>202</sup>

No. 103.

As I informed Your Lordship in my official letter No. 82, Captain Don Henri Peyroux went down to L'Anse à la Graisse with six soldiers. He remained at that post until the first of August, and on his return to Ste. Geneviève he informed me that all the inhabitants were tranquil as well as the Indians. Some of the latter had retreated to the St. Francis River, and the Americans of New Madrid were nearly all sick, which annoyed them very much; but nevertheless he tried to encourage them to go on with their work. He also left them instructions to continue the construction of streets of the settlement of L'Anse à la Graisse and make possible the communication by road with that of New Madrid. This regulation he sent to me, and I am forwarding it to Your Lordship so that you may be kept advised.

Nothing seems to me more necessary for the continuance of the growth of these settlements than the arrival of an officer with the detachment. For this will encourage those inhabitants and relieve them of all the fears which they have of the Indians, and will promote good order and harmony among them and increase the number of persons. The distance between here and there is so great that it is not possible to give aid in case of any unfortunate occurrences.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *October 10, 1789.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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<sup>202</sup> BL.

## LANG TO BIDDLE

*October 20, 1789*<sup>203</sup>RED STONE FORT 20<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1789.M<sup>r</sup>. CLEMENT BIDDLE

DEAR SIR: M<sup>r</sup>. Smiler charged me with the Business relative to General Wilkinson's Contract, concerning which you wrote Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Jackson & Nanlear—their answer is, that from the extraordinary droughts in this Country, there is no probability of their being able to get the Flour grinded before February next; altho' they have nearly wheat enough in the Mills, & are disposed to comply with that Contract as soon as Circumstances will admit; they therefore wish to Know whether the Flour will be received when ready, & on receiving this information they will not disappoint the Gen<sup>l</sup>.

I am D<sup>r</sup>. Sir Y<sup>r</sup>. t<sup>r</sup>

JAMES LANG

## WHITE TO MIRÓ

*October 23, 1789*<sup>204</sup>

No. 85.

*Confidential.*

Not having had up to this time any letter from McGillivray, and believing that he has not written to Your Lordship, I enclose a copy of one which Don Guillermo Panton received from him in which he gives a report of the conference which he had with the deputies of Congress, stating that he left it without having settled anything.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *October 23, 1789.*

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>203</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).<sup>204</sup> BL.

## IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES 205

Statement of the inhabitants who have come with their families from the American side to settle in this district of Ylinoeses from December 1, 1787, to the end of December, 1789, giving the number of persons of both sexes composing each household and the slaves they have brought with them.

Names of the Inhabitants	WHITES						MULATTO						SLAVES						Number of persons in each household
	Men			Women			Men			Women			Men			Women			
	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	1st Age	2nd Age	3rd Age	
	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	
Antonio Moren	4	2	1	3	1											1	1		16
Bartolome Richar	1	1		1	1														4
Andres Roy	4	1	1	2	1														8
Juan Baptista Delisia	3	1		1	1	1												2	17
Maria Brasó, widow	3			2	1	1										3		1	19
Agustin Rogue	2		4																8
Amable Gané		1		3	1	1													7
Luis Delisia	3	2																	8
Carlos Delisia	1																		8
Juan Baptista Lacroá	5	4	1	3	2	1	1												6
Carlos Menié		1		1	2	1	1												3
Francisco Charlevil		1		2															8
Luis Brasot	4	1		1															18
Baptista Donate	3	2	1	3			1									1	1		3
Baptista Lamarcha	2	1																	6
Josef Dod	1	1																	3
Francisco Tapen		2																	2
Josef Dubaquer	1	1					2												5
Pedro Troche		1		1	1														3
Matusen Buve		1	1																3
Sainte Genevieve																			
Vital Bauvin	1	2						1											22
Luis Loriti	2	2		4	2						4					2	2		6
Dr. Josef de Selle		1		1	1														3
Nicolas Lachanse	4	3	1	2		1										1	1		14
Gabriel Lachanse																4	6		15
Francisco Simoneau	3	1																	4
Nicolas Janis		1	1																19
Miguel Antaya		1														5	1		6
Nicolas Lachanse Jr		1	2	1	1											1			19
Thomas Sifial	1	3		1	1														4
Layne Bauvé	2	1		3	1														5
Pedro Bartolome	5	1					3	2		1	1					5	1		30
Luis Buat	1	2		1	1														4
Totals	57	43	13	41	25	8	9	5	0	2	5	0	9	33	8	14	18	3	293

AGI, PC, leg. 16.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*January 4, 1790*<sup>206</sup>

I enclose to Your Lordship a letter written by an old settler and trader in the nation of the Choctaws to his friend Hardy Pirry who, after twenty years of residence in that nation, is much beloved; and among them he has always had much influence.

He has finally gone away with twenty or thirty of his Negroes and all he possessed in that district, where he started his establishment on the bank of the Big Black River where many settlers are located. According to said letter, these settlers are alarmed as it seems that the head chief of that nation has been threatening them and does not allow any settlements to be formed in that part. The chief says that, although the boundaries were marked and the lands ceded to the English, they have not received any money for it.

Shortly that chief will be here where he pretends to come to receive gifts, though I told him at the beginning of last year that there were no gifts here and that he had to go to Mobile for them; but people of this kind pay no attention to what is said to them, and he will, consequently, appear here shortly with many of his tribe. This I bring hereby to Your Lordship's notice.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *January 4, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*January 10, 1790*<sup>207</sup>

Although I had resolved to order the few settlers of the Big Black River to retire to Bayou Pierre until further orders, I have not done so. I have not done this in order to ignore the extortion attempted by the Indian chief Franchimastabe as the information I have received regarding this chief's character indicates that his impertinences merely spring from a desire to receive more presents.

God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *January 10, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>206</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>207</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

(Attached to the foregoing)

No. 130.

A party of Americans have arrived at Kaskaskia under a governor named General St. Clair who, it is said, is a member of Congress. He has brought with him two officers with fifty garrison troops and another forty with an officer which stayed at the entrance of the Ohio River and which should come up and join the first.

This development might take away some of the settlers who had decided to come here from the other side and who had promised to do so in the spring. Nevertheless, I shall not cease encouraging all I can to settle in this place to increase the population and promote agriculture.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *March 24, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

VALLIERE TO MIRÓ

*January 12, 1790* <sup>208</sup>

No. 167

The great chief of the Miami nation, named Pacana, with his family and nine men, making a total of thirty-four persons, arrived at this post on the third of last December. I received Pacana as a chief and he has been treated the same during the time he has been in my house. Five days after his arrival he asked my permission to go to Ouachita, for the purpose of seeing a chief of his nation, a relative of his named Hibou. At the same time he asked me for permission to live in the Spanish territory. I told him there would be no trouble about it but that this could not be done until he delivered to me the English medal that he had. In exchange for it I offered to give him a Spanish medal. I assured him that when he went down to the town to see his Father he would realize how good his heart is, as has already been recognized by the other nations who live under our flag. To this he replied that in two days he would give me his answer.

On the following day a courier was sent to me by the chief of the Arkansas nation to inform me that a large party of Chickasaw had arrived at their villages. On the Ouachita they had killed a chief of the great medal of the Illinois and two Indian women, and they were bringing the wife and three children of this chief as prisoners.



From this I infer that it was the same party which had passed through, as I informed Your Lordship in my official letter No. 166. I urged them not to do any harm but to leave the roads clean. They replied that they would do it and that, if they spilled blood, it would be only that of deer.

As soon as the Miami chief learned that this party of Chickasaw had arrived and that they had killed the Illinois chief he became frightened, and, gathering up his people, came to the fort to take refuge. He informed me that he had two Illinois Indians in his party, and feared that the Chickasaw would kill them, as well as himself and his family. To this I replied that I would arrange everything by lodging him in my house and his people in the fort.

Three days afterwards the Chickasaw, whom I recognized as the same ones who had passed through, arrived with the chief of the great medal, Coolabe, the partisan chief Tanapea, and Panimataa, nephew of the great chief of the same name. They entered the fort, accompanied by the chiefs of the Arkansas. Beginning to speak, I asked them why they had not kept the promise they had given me, for they had killed an Illinois chief of the great medal and two women and made the wife of the chief and her family prisoners, as well as taking his medal and scalp. The chief of the party, Tanapea, replied that the Illinois had killed two of his brothers, and that he would deliver up everything to me since it was so asked. This he did on the following day. He told me that the Arkansas had offered them ten horses for the prisoners, and that I should give them something, for they were naked. I did give them the following, of which I hope Your Lordship will approve: Fifteen white blankets, eight of the same of Limbourg, fifteen shirts, two pounds of vermilion paint, four small barrels of rum, thirty pounds of powder, sixty of ball, twenty-four knives, twelve mirrors, three rolls of tobacco; to the wife of the Illinois chief a chemise, a blanket, and a skirt, because she was naked; to her children three blankets, and a breech-clout to the eldest. Five days' rations were also supplied to sixty-seven Chickasaw Indians, and eleven days' rations to the thirty-four Miami.

On the following day the chief Pacana delivered his medal to me in the presence of the Arkansas and Chickasaw chiefs, and I gave the Spanish medal to him. They gave him the usual honors, with which he was well-pleased. This is until Your Lordship approves of it and sends his commission.

When I asked the widow of the aforesaid Illinois chief where she wished to go, she said that I should leave her with the Miamis. In her

presence I ordered the scalp of her husband to be buried in the church cemetery for the reason that he was a Christian.

I enclose to Your Lordship the medal of Pacana.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *January 12, 1790.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*January 15, 1790* <sup>209</sup>

No. 30

I have received the executory writ in favor of Don Josef Capuran against Don Pablo Bouet Laffitta, and have had the said Bouet Laffitta appear before me. He stated that he could not make the delivery of the 3016 deer skins to which he was sentenced by Your Lordship in the *auto* of September 25, because he has had no dealings with the Indians for a long time. As I know this to be the truth, I have sentenced him to pay in this office 1508 pesos, the value of the 3016 deer skins at four reales each, which is the highest price current in this province for this kind of peltries, even in merchandise. This number of pesos was attached in favor of Don Pedro Rousseau, because of what was owed him by Don Josef Capuran, and I am sending you by this opportunity the writ executed in the matter.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *January 15, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

LE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*January 15, 1790* <sup>210</sup>

No. 36.

In compliance with Your Lordship's orders of September 28, last year, I send you herewith a statement of the number of pounds of tobacco produced at this post.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

POINTE COUPÉE, *January 15, 1790.*

VALENTIN LE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>209</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>210</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the number of pounds of tobacco produced at the post of Pointe Coupée by the individuals listed below in the year 1789, to wit:

Estevan Bergeron .....	4000	Carlos la Chiapel .....	5510
Widow Lafite .....	1750	Carlos Quebeda .....	500
Amable Cuvillon .....	6000	Pedro Olende .....	2500
Widow Escofit .....	4000	Perito Olende .....	1500
Robillar .....	4500	Luis Bizete .....	400
Gremillon .....	1500	Bautista Bebe .....	800
Philippe .....	1500	Pedro Bao .....	1750
Francisco Jaro .....	4000	Bautista Olende .....	6000
Joseph Perche .....	2500	Simon Davide .....	2000
Marie Widow Janisse .....	2000	Jorge Olivo, Jr. ....	1000
Widow Perrot .....	2500	Henrrique la Grange ....	5000
Joseph Henete .....	2500	Jayme Fabre .....	2500
Miguel Perche .....	2500	Luis Davide .....	2750
Alexan Picar .....	3500		
		<b>Total .....</b>	<b>74960</b>

POINTE COUPÉE, *January 15, 1790.*

VALENTIN LE BLANC (Rubric)

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*January 20, 1790* <sup>211</sup>

MY GOVERNOR: The Osage have finally arrived at the first cowpens of this post. Had not a party of Kichai met them they would have doubtless committed some outrage. They were seen at *Casse* about ten leagues from Sieur Athanaze Poisot's cowpen in the first ten days of this month, but it is certain that they have been put off for only a little time. This fact has alarmed all the inhabitants of Bayou Pierre and of all this continent. It has been proved, my Governor, that for a long time the Osage have been the cause of the ruin of this post. The capital feels the results of this. At the present time there is no other crop here to look forward to except tobacco. If it had not been for the Osage, we should have had a quantity of tongues, skins of different sorts, bear oil, tallow, and salted buffalo meat. All the nations seem to want to stir at the same time. Sieur Armant, purveyor general to the Indians of the province of Texas, lets them go without anything. Never have so many different tribes come into this post as came last year, all of them asking me for traders as if it depended upon me to supply them. I referred them all to the

<sup>211</sup> BL, (French).

governor of San Antonio, but this did not satisfy them very well. They said that in the times of my ancestors they had always been supplied, and that now they saw themselves abandoned by me. You are not without knowledge, my Governor, that the worst spectacle in the world is that of poverty. These savages have forgotten the use of the arrow, and during the French domination they lacked nothing; but today they are reduced to dire necessity. They are consequently ready to commit evil actions. That poor province of Texas will be affected, and so will this one as a consequence. Then we shall have to wage open warfare against this sort of barbarians, or else humiliate ourselves before them by suing for peace. It is better, therefore, to prevent blows. I propose two things to Your Lordship. The first one is that you may be so good as to commission me to go out against the Osage at the head of a detachment of my company accompanied by some of our allied savages who will escort me with the greatest possible pleasure. I shall certainly meet them and either offer them peace and have them conclude it with all our tribes, or defend myself if they fight me. If they do not conclude peace they will at least fear the repeated appearance of a party as considerable as mine will be, and they will not approach with the same feeling of security. My second idea is to visit at the same time the distant tribes which are most redoubtable, such as the Naytane, Tawehash, Wichita, Niscani, and Tawakoni. I shall send them messengers during the summer to tell them all to be gathered next October in the forest of *Travers* about two hundred leagues from here for the purpose of renewing the peace with them, of exhorting them to maintain their good conduct, and to retain the greatest possible union and harmony with all the subjects of His Majesty. There is no doubt that I have an infallible ascendancy over these nations and that this trip will produce a marvelous effect, because nothing is more flattering and agreeable to savages than to see themselves visited in their villages. From this they draw conclusions which always seem to them consoling as well as flattering.

I am planning it so that this trip will not cost the King one sou for the militia men who will march with me. I think I have enough influence over them to find a sufficient number with good will. It is very likely that I shall have to take presents to give to these distant nations which we see very rarely. I am offering to do everything at my own expense, unless Your Lordship disposes otherwise and, in taking the thing to heart, is desirous of according me some slight present. I give assurance in advance that I shall appease and quiet all the nations which I have just named with the exception, however, of the Osage.

Finally, my Governor, you realize better than myself the conse-

quences of this expedition. I present myself as an honorable officer, full of zeal for my sovereign. By fulfilling my duty I am causing my advancement and the happiness of my family, and you who have always been full of kindness towards me may help me in this affair and put me in a position to have a better fate in a short time. This is what I expect from the favor of Your Lordship. You will direct the manner in which I must carry out the proposed expedition. I shall always be filled with the greatest sentiments of gratitude and the deepest respect with which I have the honor of being, my Governor,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BLANC (Rubric)

NATCHITOCHEs, *20th of January, 1790.*

To the Governor.

WHITE TO MIRÓ

*January 21, 1790*<sup>211a</sup>

No. 116.

Juan Bautista Cors, captain of the King's schooner *San Marcos*, on his arrival here delivered to the royal stores of the department of Indians the ten thousand, eight hundred pounds of trade ball and three hundred and eighty hatchets shown in the attached copy of the bill of lading issued by Don Francisco Ruiz, the official temporarily in charge of said stores. These items were shipped at the order of Your Lordship for the purposes of the said department, according to letter of November 19, last year, to which it is in reply.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *January 21, 1790.*

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ

*January 26, 1790*<sup>212</sup>

I send Your Lordship herewith copy of letter dated the 16th instant, from *Contador* Don Gabriel Marín Pizarro, regarding the imports and exports of the merchant, Don William Pantón and Company. What he states is known to me.

Major Don Enrique White, who was at the time in command of this post on account of my indisposition, told Pantón to make a record of the goods that he sent to San Marcos de Apalache and this displeased Pantón.

<sup>211a</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>212</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

I later told him that this should be done, and he replied verbally that he had the permission of the Court for this importation; and, seeing that he was annoyed, I explained to him that it was necessary for the commandant of the post of San Marcos de Apalache to know that the goods or effects being landed there were precisely the ones shipped from this port, as prescribed by royal order.

He also told me that he would make a statement of said goods or effects for Mobile, which he did without details, specifying only the number of parcels, as shown by the copy of the letter from the *contador* which I enclose.

He has done the same with the shipment of goods he sent to Mobile by the English sloop that came a short time before from Providence, as Your Lordship was advised under date of December 23, last. The shipment was made by this vessel because there was no Spanish ship available here at the time.

This I communicate to Your Lordship, assuring you of my exact and sincere compliance in all orders Your Lordship pleases to give me. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, 26th of January, 1790.

ARTURO O'NEILL (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

I have taken note of what is said in his letter addressed to Your Lordship by the Most Excellent Señor Marqués del Campo, ambassador extraordinary of our Court in London, to the effect that the officials of royal exchequer at this post should look after and check the importation here of the goods being brought in the cargoes of Messrs. William Panton, Leslie and Company. The reason for this is that the said Señor cannot examine the goods being shipped there because of the fact that the customhouses are English. He is sending only the invoice of the goods that the correspondents of said Panton and Company say they are shipping to them, so that by comparing this with the imports here, it may be seen whether they are goods that are needed for the benefit of the Indian tribes in this jurisdiction, as is the intention of the Sovereign. This accounting office in my charge is not able to exercise any other formalities than those practiced heretofore. These consist of asking the aid of troops to be placed on board each ship that arrives here for the said firm, and ordering the corporal to make a report of what is landed, a method due to the absence of customs guards, which was approved by Señor Don Martín Navarro, former intendant general of these provinces. It has happened in the case

of these last vessels that transshipments have been made from one to another, without the number of pieces, pounds, or ells contained in each bale, cask, or case of those transshipped being definitely learned. Despite the fact that the corporal on guard was instructed to report fully, he did so only of the numbers of each case. The result is that, at the time of making the inspection when the merchandise should have been verified, all of those articles comprising the cargo are not actually present. As these facts, of course, may result in some detriment to my sincere conduct and zeal for the best service of the King, I bring them to the attention of Your Lordship, so that you may please inform me what I should do in such cases, as well as when the said firm of Pantón ships goods to Apalache and Mobile, but does not permit a formal record to be made of the number of pieces or parcels, with the number of ells, quintals, or pounds shipped to those places. All this lack of formality on the part of the said merchant can be due only to his idea that, because His Majesty has granted him exemption from the payment of duties, he need not observe the procedure that had been followed in this matter previous to the royal order (which he obtained for this purpose). All of which I report to Your Lordship in discharge of the obligations of my position.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *16th of January, 1790.*

GABRIEL MARÍN PIZARRO

SEÑOR DON ARTURO O'NEILL.

*A copy.* O'NEILL (Rubric)

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*February 23, 1790* <sup>213</sup>

I advise Your Lordship of the arrival of four flatboats at this post from Kentucky. A statement of the passengers and effects I send Your Lordship herewith. Two of these boats belong to a man named Philemon Thomas, whose cargo of tobacco and salt meat he brought down to this capital for sale. Neither he nor his men came here for any other purpose than trade, and are all returning to America. The others are settling here and have taken the proper oath of fidelity.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *February 23, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>213</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the flatboats that have arrived in this district from the United States of America, as well as the goods they have brought and the persons who came on them.

From Kentucky—Mark Lee with two flatboats, 1,500 minots of lime.

*Employees:*

Ramon Bocoman	John Nuoy
Robert Fryel	John Lee
Leonard Bocoman	John Waziam
William Gifford	John Harrison

Edward Cathors with one flat boat.

18,000 lbs of salt meat.

12 hogsheads of tobacco.

800 lbs of salt.

*Employees:*

Israel Wilson—5,000 lbs of salt meat.

Patrick Gollcher

John Brocon

John Hater

McGallihan with five children.

Philemon Thomas with two flatboats.

27 barrels of salt meat.

60 hogsheads of tobacco

2 barrels of tallow.

*Employees who are returning to America with the owner.*

Richard Thomas	John Carmack
Charles Smith	John Moore
Samuel Mooney	Florance Morely
Francis Griffon	

Benjamin Grubb, his wife, one daughter, five Negroes, and one Negress arrived from South Carolina overland.

NATCHEZ, *February 23, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*February 23, 1790* <sup>214</sup>

In order not to delay further sending Your Lordship the report of the tobacco produced by these inhabitants last year, I am sending Your Lordship the total pounds, showing separately that of *manoco*

<sup>214</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.



and *andullos*,<sup>215</sup> according to the statement of each grower. I have not yet succeeded in getting a statement showing each proprietor, but shall send same within three or four days.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *February 23, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the total number of pounds of tobacco produced by the inhabitants of Natchez last year, 1789.

	<i>Barrels</i> pounds	<i>Andullos</i> pounds
Santa Catalina .....	570,000	113,000
Segundo Creek Homochitto .....	260,000	80,948
Buffalo Creek .....	33,000	45,040
Coles Creek .....	221,800	81,662
Bayou Pierre .....	68,000	29,275
	<hr/> 1,152,800	<hr/> 249,925 <sup>216</sup>
In <i>manoco</i> .....lbs....	1,152,800	
In <i>andullos</i> .....lbs....	249,925	
	<hr/> 1,402,725	

NATCHEZ, *February 23, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric.)

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*February 28, 1790*<sup>217</sup>

No. 35.

I send Your Lordship copy of the letter written me by the governor of the Province of Texas, Don Rafael Martínez Pacheco, under date of December 20, last year, together with my reply of the 10th instant, and another on the same subject to Don Antonio Gil Ybarvo, lieutenant governor of the town of Nacogdoches, so that, having taken note of their contents, Your Lordship may rest assured that, if there is any break in the peace which is being kept by the Indians of that province, no responsibility should fall upon me. For my part I am not to blame as I am absolutely ignorant of what the said Señor Governor tells me.

In reality he has been misinformed. I cannot understand what he says in his letter about the introduction of goods among those Indians

<sup>215</sup> Tobacco was prepared for shipment in the form of bunches or bundles and in rolls.

<sup>216</sup> Incorrectly added as listed although total checks with that on p. 311.

<sup>217</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

being prejudicial to the royal service, because Don Josef María Armant, as purveyor general for all those tribes, could, if he had sufficient means, introduce among them as great a quantity as he pleased.

Don Luis Diard also has informed me that the said Señor Governor had granted him the trade of the Tonkawa, and that he intends to get his merchandise here.

All this embarrasses me greatly and gives me reason to say that any introduction of goods would be equally prejudicial to the royal service, and I, for my part, cannot permit this trade, as I would be disobeying the orders I have from Your Lordship.

Only to Don Josef María Armant am I unable to forbid this commerce, as Your Lordship has so informed me; but this also presents some difficulties at present, as Armant has been deeply in debt for a long time, both in New Orleans and this post, principally to Lieutenant Colonel of Army Don Estevan Vaugine. Your Lordship is aware of this as you issued a decision against him under date of September 3, last year, in favor of the said Don Estevan Vaugine; but as he always stays at Nacogdoches and has no property here, I do not know what course to take. For this reason Your Lordship will please advise me what I should do in this matter.

It is true that all the tribes in the province of Texas are very hard hit by not having traders in their villages as they formerly had. This seems to me to reveal bad judgment on the part of that government because it has turned over to a man who has neither means nor credit the supplying of so many tribes, which, finding themselves in poverty and obliged to pay with the little they have at very high prices, cannot fail to cause some fatal outbreak. This would not happen if things were arranged as they were in the time of Baron de Ripperda, governor of that province, who gave, with the authorization of Señor Don Luis de Unzaga, governor of this one, sufficient authority to Don Atanasio de Mézières, one of my predecessors, so that the traders could go from here to those tribes; and as they were supplied by various traders, they never lacked what they needed and kept quiet and very faithful, which is not the case at present. Now they are continually coming here to ask me for traders, which is very onerous for me for the reason that I am obliged to make them some small presents out of my own pocket, lodge and feed them, in order not to aggravate them further, and to promote the interests of the royal service; but neither is that just, and it cannot continue without ruining me inevitably. For this reason Your Lordship will please take in this matter the steps which you think proper.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.  
NATCHITOCHES, 28th of February 1790.

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

---

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

*Copy of letter from the governor of San Antonio to the commandant of the post of Natchitoches.*

I am informed that there have come to the town of Nacogdoches traders from Natchitoches, belonging to your province of Louisiana, with a large stock of merchandise, which they are at present disposing of among these Indians and other neighboring tribes. According to repeated advices from these Indians, the traders are carrying on that illegal commerce and inspiring various rumors prejudicial to the good order and peace which should be observed. For this reason and since it is a practice which entails unbearable and inexpressible harm, it may cause a break in the peace prevailing in this province under my command, because the Indians are excited and find themselves obliged to commit robberies to pay for the merchandise which those traders spread among them. As this is strictly prohibited by repeated orders, it is indispensable for me to request your assistance to the end that these traders may be restrained from the extensive introduction of merchandise into the said tribes of this province, as such action is to the interest of the royal service.

Under this date I am sending proper orders to my lieutenant governor of Nacogdoches, so that he may for his part comply exactly with what is instructed in this matter, and apprehend those who depart from the method which should be observed. This is all that I have seen fit to order for the present.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEJAR, December 20, 1789

RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ PACHECO

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE BLANC.

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*Copy of the reply to the foregoing letter.*

You advise me under date of December 30, last year, that you have been informed that there had appeared at the post of Nacogdoches, from the one under my command, traders with large stocks of merchandise, which they were disposing of among those Indians and other neighboring tribes, and that this is prejudicial to good order and the royal service, and entails unbearable and inexpressible harm which may cause a break in the peace prevailing in your province. For this reason you find yourself obliged to ask my aid in restraining

the said traders from the extensive introduction of merchandise among the Indian tribes in your jurisdiction.

In this case, it is strange that the lieutenant governor of Nacogdoches has not ordered their apprehension and their merchandise confiscated, nor instituted the proper proceedings in the matter, although they must have come without a passport from me, as I am entirely without such authority. The introduction of any goods whatsoever into the province of Texas is absolutely prohibited (by the orders which I have from my superior), and as this is the case, the responsibility for all the harm occasioned by the said traders must fall on the aforesaid lieutenant governor, because they were not authorized by me, nor have any gone out from this post. The only exception is Don Josef María Armant, purveyor general of the Indian tribes of your province. For this reason you have been misinformed, and this gives me cause to enforce the orders I have in the future with all strictness, and as in your letter you make no exceptions, I must think that any introduction without distinction must cause the same injury to the royal service. Therefore, will you please inform me whether the said Don Josef María Armant should continue his trade with those Indians, or whether his authority should be taken from him. This information is indispensable for my guidance.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *February 10, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC.

SEÑOR DON RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ PACHECO.

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*Copy of letter from the commandant of Natchitoches to the lieutenant governor of Nacogdoches on the same subject.*

According to the letter which I have from the Señor Governor of the Province of Texas, Don Rafael Martínez Pacheco, under date of December 20, last year, he has informed me that traders have appeared at your post from the one under my command with large stocks of merchandise, which they are now disposing of among those Indians and other neighboring nations. He says this is prejudicial to good order and the royal service, entailing unbearable and inexpressible harm which may cause a break in the peace prevailing in that province.

No one can substantiate the reality of this fact and know the traders better than yourself, and it is in this case strange that you have not apprehended them and seized their merchandise, instituting the proper proceedings in the case, as they must have come without a passport from me, inasmuch as I am entirely without such authority. The introduction of any kind of goods into the province of Texas is absolutely prohibited by the orders I have from my superior.

For this reason I ask you to exercise against the malefactors all the rigor incumbent upon you, as the law of your jurisdiction is very just, and then, if they are from the post under my command, send them to me, so that I for my part may omit no punishment proper to the case and may advise the said governor of everything and attach this letter.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *February 10, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC

Señor DON ANTONIO GIL YBARVO.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*March 1, 1790* <sup>218</sup>

Up to now no family has presented itself for this settlement, but I shall ask the oath of fealty from some Americans, including three deserters from Governor St. Clair who came to me and about whom I shall inform Your Lordship at the first opportunity.

May God grant Your Lordship many years.

L'ANSE A LA GRAISSE, *March 1, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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(*Attached to the foregoing*)

I have seen by your official letter No. 29 that, up to March 1, no family has presented itself for that settlement and that only some deserters came. Among these deserters were three from the troops of Governor St. Clair of whom you are going to ask the oath of fealty, of which you will send me a report at the first opportunity.

May God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 10, 1790.*

Señor PEDRO FOUCHER.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*March 2, 1790* <sup>219</sup>

I send Your Lordship herewith a statement of the tobacco produced in this district last year, with a list of the growers, showing separately *manocos* [bunches] and *andullos* [rolls].

<sup>218</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>219</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.  
NATCHEZ, *March 2, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the tobacco produced by the growers of Natchez (according to their statements) in the year 1789, giving the name of each grower.

	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
Moses Bonner, Jr. ....	5,000	1,500
Joseph Bonner ....	3,000	900
Thomas Jorden ....	4,000	2,000
Gabriel Benoist ....	2,000	1,200
William Handerson ....	5,000	3,000
John Bisland ....	15,000	6,000
William Collens ....	6,000	800
Moses Bonner, Senior ....	5,000	1,000
Henry Manadau ....	6,000	1,000
James Banner ....	3,000	600
Manuel Maddin ....	2,000	1,000
William Owens ....	3,000	.....
James Wade ....	3,000	1,000
Thomas Esser ....	1,000	.....
Stephen Stevenson ....	.....	1,000
Samuel Stevenson ....	.....	600
Robert Ford ....	7,000	1,600
Charles Cason ....	4,000	600
Thomas Morgan ....	2,000	1,600
James Oglesbey ....	2,000	400
John Armstrat ....	1,000	200
George Richardsen ....	1,000	.....
James Richardsen ....	1,000	80
Ezra Marble ....	3,000	1,000
John Nutom ....	2,000	.....
Benjamin Ballock ....	1,000	600
William Ratless ....	6,000	1,000
Joshua Houvard ....	5,000	.....
Henry Richarson ....	5,000	1,000
Ysaac Alexander ....	2,000	1,400
Robert Abrams ....	3,000	400
William McIntosh ....	5,000	600
Obadiah Brown ....	3,000	800
Cabel King ....	.....	2,000
Nathen Sweeze ....	6,500	2,000

	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
William Short .....	.....	600
John Cavrey .....	7,000	1,200
James Herk .....	16,000	2,800
Mistress Gillaird .....	11,000	1,800
John Lusk .....	.....	1,000
Lan & Hugh Davis .....	4,000	2,600
Ruffin Gray .....	2,000	800
Arch Palmer .....	3,000	700
William Scott .....	2,000	800
Thomas Cummens .....	3,000	1,800
Elisha Davis .....	5,000	1,600
James Nicholson .....	.....	2,200
Daniel McKey .....	2,500	1,600
Stephen Ambrose .....	1,000	400
Gabriel Sweeze .....	.....	2,000
Charles Perdry .....	.....	6,000
Zachereah Smith .....	6,000	3,500
Henry Roach .....	.....	200
Daniel Ogdon .....	.....	1,000
John Lovelas .....	4,000	.....
Thomas Lovelas .....	1,000	.....
Eduard Lovelas .....	.....	600
John Alston .....	7,000	4,000
Levis Alston .....	8,000	5,000
William Alston .....	1,000	2,000
James Alston .....	.....	1,000
Christopher Bingeman .....	.....	1,500
Mistress Rou .....	.....	1,000
John Coleman .....	.....	400
William Coleman .....	.....	300
David Jones .....	.....	400
Daniel Clark .....	6,000	14,000
Joseph Holmes .....	5,000	1,100
William Hudson .....	3,000	800
Arthur Cobb .....	13,000	1,400
Phellinder Smith .....	10,000	1,000
John Ellis .....	16,000	2,100
Nehemiah Carter .....	4,000	1,500
Abner Green .....	7,000	2,100
Anthony Hutchens .....	20,000	2,100
Nicholas Robb .....	2,000	800
Richard Ellis .....	14,000	1,500
Abraham Ellis .....	13,000	3,000
Elias Bennell .....	2,000	100
Jesse Carter .....	8,000	1,500
Samuel Phipps .....	.....	400
Charles Sarget .....	5,000	1,500
William Dunbarr .....	17,000	1,200

	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
Ysaac Johnston .....	5,000	2,100
David Mitchell .....	4,000	800
Matheu White .....	16,000	2,600
James Irivin .....	2,000	1,000
Benjamin Holmes .....	5,000	2,700
William Cooper .....	9,000	2,600
Samuel Cooper .....	3,000	600
Henry Cooper .....	5,000	1,600
Bearlie Pruett .....	1,000	600
Ephraim Bates .....	3,000	1,000
Williams Calvit .....	7,000	3,000
John Ford .....	3,000	2,400
Williams Fletcher .....	.....	700
Williams Lee .....	3,000	1,000
Louis Cherbenaux .....	.....	700
Peter Nelson .....	2,000	400
Thomas Ballou .....	5,000	600
John Ratliff .....	6,000	3,700
Alexander Fanou .....	1,000	400
George Beley .....	.....	100
Thomas Calvet .....	4,000	3,000
Richard Travellion .....	5,000	1,000
Joseph Green .....	.....	1,000
John Terry .....	8,000	3,300
George Stamply .....	.....	600
William Hamborlin .....	3,000	2,000
Stephen Dalva .....	1,000	300
Henry Planner .....	2,000	1,000
William Curtes .....	5,000	1,100
John Holt .....	3,000	1,000
Jean Rumsey .....	6,000	2,000
Jacob Cable .....	4,800	1,500
Gasper Sinclair .....	3,000	800
David Odam .....	3,000	2,000
Patrick Tool .....	.....	1,000
Henry Green .....	10,000	7,000
John Smith .....	11,000	1,000
Barney Isinhood .....	2,000	.....
Joseph Dyson .....	1,000	100
Charles Simmons .....	6,000	2,000
Abraham Harton .....	1,000	1,000
John Coartney .....	.....	300
Mark Cole .....	2,000	500
Thomas Smiley .....	2,000	300
John Jones .....	.....	300
Clement Dyson .....	2,000	400
James Spalden .....	.....	200
John Staybraker .....	1,000	600



	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
Thomas Dyson .....	1,000	.....
John Dyson .....	.....	1,600
Justes Humphries .....	1,000	100
James Elliot .....	3,000	1,000
William Farbanks .....	1,000	1,000
Thomas Green .....	17,000	6,000
Cato West .....	9,000	2,000
Parker Caridene .....	11,000	3,000
David Holt .....	8,000	1,000
James Truley .....	7,000	2,000
William Ferguson .....	2,000	.....
Richard Harrison .....	20,000	1,000
Frances Spain .....	3,000	100
William Thomas .....	2,000	500
John Stamply .....	2,000	1,000
James Cole .....	2,000	900
Samuel Davis .....	.....	1,000
Jesse Hamilton .....	6,000	1,500
William Treven .....	5,000	1,300
George Fermount .....	1,000	300
James Cole, Senr. ....	4,000	1,000
Stephen Cole .....	1,000	200
William Bell .....	.....	1,000
John Marlin .....	2,000	800
Daniel Perry .....	10,000	1,000
James Hay .....	3,000	1,000
Sebastian Daw .....	1,000	1,000
Samuel Bell .....	6,000	.....
Henry Jacobs .....	1,000	200
Adam Lenhart .....	5,000	1,000
Mistress Goadevin .....	2,000	300
John Burnet .....	3,000	2,000
Ezekiel Harman .....	4,000	100
James Harman .....	2,200	900
John Heartley .....	5,000	2,000
David Smith .....	1,000	.....
Benjamin Foye .....	.....	1,000
William Meller .....	.....	100
John Boothe .....	500	.....
Elisha Flowers .....	3,000	1,000
Thomas Hoblard .....	1,000	200
Jacob Coburn .....	4,000	1,000
Samuel Gibson .....	8,000	2,000
William Brocas .....	6,000	2,000
Gibson Clark .....	6,000	1,000
Daniel Chambers .....	1,000	.....
Moses Armstrong .....	.....	300
Ebenezar Smith .....	4,000	1,000

	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
Ysaac Fife .....	1,000	300
Walterman Crane .....	3,000	1,000
Matheu Turney .....	1,000	100
William Faber .....	2,000	300
Thomas Voss .....	.....	1,000
William Smith .....	2,000	.....
William Howie .....	500	.....
Ralph Humphres .....	5,000	1,000
Peter B. Bruin .....	5,000	2,000
Joseph Perhins .....	5,000	.....
George Killion .....	12,000	800
Cader Raley .....	3,000	.....
David Lambert .....	2,000	.....
William Ryon .....	2,000	300
Archd. Miller .....	3,000	400
Joseph Ford .....	4,000	500
Thomas Andersom .....	2,000	200
Wiley .....	1,000	500
Samuel Sweeze .....	1,200	.....
M. Glascok .....	3,000	100
James McIntosh .....	12,000	200
Adam Bengeman .....	40,000	5,000
William Smith .....	9,000	.....
Phel Smith .....	4,000	.....
Jonathan Parkins .....	1,500	.....
Nathn. Tumbleston .....	1,000	.....
Richard Bacon .....	2,000	.....
Jacob Shelling .....	500	.....
Ebenezar Dayton .....	200	.....
Andrew Beall .....	5,000	.....
John Foster .....	2,000	.....
Daniel Wheteker .....	1,000	.....
Mary Carpenter .....	2,000	100
William Triven .....	5,000	.....
James Hays .....	3,000	.....
Benjamin Curtes .....	1,500	.....
Jeptha Higdon .....	10,000	.....
Mary Higdon .....	2,000	.....
Richard Curtes .....	1,000	.....
Gabriel Griffen .....	10,000	.....
John Griffen .....	3,000	.....
Frederick Calvet .....	10,000	100
John Bous .....	9,000	100
Gired Brannon .....	12,000	.....
Robert Dunbarr .....	11,000	.....
Benjamin Belth .....	3,000	1,000
John Odam .....	1,500	.....
Robert Carter .....	900	.....

	Manocos	Andullos
	pounds	pounds
Gabriel Gibson .....	4,000	.....
Samuel Raner .....	.....	1,500
Winsor Pipes .....	4,000	.....
John Slavers .....	2,000	1,000
John Harrison .....	1,200	.....
Ezekiel Duit .....	4,000	.....
Eduard McCabe .....	3,000	.....
John Bullen .....	2,000	.....
Alexander Henderson .....	2,000	.....
Doctor Flowers .....	12,000	.....
Mistress Dove .....	.....	400
Ruben Gibson .....	3,000	345
William Lum .....	6,000	.....
David Mulkey .....	500	.....
James Foster .....	5,000	.....
William Foster .....	6,000	.....
David Williams .....	50,000	.....
Bernard Linctot .....	10,000	.....
Jeremiah Coleman .....	2,300	.....
Thomas Foster .....	8,000	.....
Abram Hoston .....	8,000	.....
William Welks .....	7,300	.....
George Fitzgerald .....	12,000	.....
Daniel Grafton .....	11,000	.....
Joseph Barnard .....	8,000	.....
Bolser Shilleng .....	3,000	.....
John Shunk .....	10,000	.....
John Menor .....	12,000	.....
Herde Ellis .....	3,000	.....
Isaac Gilleard .....	10,000	.....
Mistress Savage .....	6,000	.....
Jacob Leaphart .....	2,000	.....
Justin King .....	10,000	.....
Richard King .....	10,000	.....
Caleb King .....	10,000	.....
Richard Sweezy .....	4,700	.....
Totals .....	1,152,800	249,925

NATCHEZ, *March 2, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

VALLIERE TO MIRÓ

*March 3, 1790*<sup>220</sup>

No. 184.

(Copy)

I have just received news that the Osages have killed on this river a hunter named Santiago Traver and also robbed three others further up the White River.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

ARKANSAS, *March 3, 1790.*

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*March 7, 1790*<sup>221</sup>

No. 134.

Up to the present no chiefs of the Great Osages have made their appearance, and I have only had advice from the trader, Don Silvestre La Badia, that he had informed them of my letter and that there were various disputes among them. Therefore he does not believe they will come down this year, because they fear the tribes on the Mississippi. These tribes have declared war on the Little Osages because this winter they attacked the Sacs and Foxes, who now desire revenge. If the latter strike them a good blow, it will be very good for us, as the Osages are the worst two tribes that we have on the Missouri, and at the same time the strongest, the more so, if they unite. For this reason it is necessary to temporize with them to some extent, and handle them as tactfully as possible in order to restrain their excesses, as the few forces in the country do not permit anything else. In spite of Osage knavery, the traders to the Little Osages have returned well content, having done a very good business, and La Badia has already sent down two good cases of peltries from the Great Osages.

I for my part am taking all the steps possible to maintain the peace of the country and its inhabitants.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *March 7, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

<sup>220</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>221</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*March 12, 1790* <sup>222</sup>

Three flatboats arrived from various provinces of North America. The individual proprietors and goods are marked down in the enclosed report distinguishing between those who are remaining to settle in this province and those who are going back. This is done in order that Your Lordship may know which of the goods are subject to duty in checking with those which go down to your capital.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *March 12, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the three flatboats which arrived from the United States today with the white persons, Negroes, and goods which they brought.

*First boat from South Carolina.*

Owners—Juan Williams with 25 Negroes—to settle.

Preston Tendesley with 7 Negroes—to settle.

*Second boat from Cumberland.*

Owner—Juan Deaderick

*Employees*

Juan Perleney

Juan Penkly

Juan Chisper

*Merchandise*

36 casks of tobacco

2 barrels of meat

7 bundles of furs

14 bear skins

2 carbines

*Third vessel—Coming from Cumberland.*

Owner—George Winchinsten

*Employees*

David Berruy

Nataniel Puller.

Miguel Kelly

David Winchinsten.

*Merchandise.*

10 casks of tobacco.

36 barrels of meat.

150 sacks of lime.

150 pounds of tallow.

NATCHEZ, *March 12, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

FILHIOL TO MIRÓ

*March 16, 1790* <sup>223</sup>

SIR: I am replying to the letter which you did me the honor of writing the 19th of last September on the subject of the Miami and Kaskaskia Indians. I have delayed until now only because I regarded as doubtful that those who have been to see you, Sir, had the confidence of their nations sufficiently to induce them to agree to their choice. Some indirect information which has come to me makes me believe today that these nations will be able to come and that I can take the liberty to write to you about them.

I am reassured with regard to the proximity of the Miami and like you, Sir, I consider them more useful than harmful to this post. According to the manner in which circumstances may develop it may even happen that I shall desire them to come nearer the post than you have asked, which, I presume, they will view with pleasure. I do not dare to think of it yet for it seems that the nations round about are opposed to their settlement in these parts. Mr. Valliere warned me concerning this matter by a letter of the 16th of September and the attacks made this winter along the upper part of this river seem to confirm it. Contrary to the custom of the nations, those who made them have been unwilling to reveal themselves.

The white hunters who have seen them and travelled among them are agreed that the greater part of the party consisted of Chickasaw and that some Arkansas were mixed with them. They did not defeat any Miami because at the first news, these took refuge among the Caddo to await there the main body of their people. When these arrive, I shall not propose to them then that they be brought nearer before it has been ordered by you, for fear of bringing war upon the population in the course of which several white people might find themselves implicated. This would spread terror among all of them. They are already frightened enough and I have great difficulty in reassuring them.

If after your orders the Miami are able to establish themselves tranquilly, I would regard them for this post in the same light as the Arkansas for theirs. And then to encourage the population, since you do me the honor of telling me that you will make it my

<sup>223</sup> BL, (French).

business to appoint traders, I venture to ask you that the trade be open to all the inhabitants of this post without distinction, on condition that none of them should carry merchandise to their villages and that none but strangers should be excluded.

Epinet on his avowal and that of his associate, has finished with the Caddo.

I am with respect, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant.

FILHIOL (Rubric)

OÜACHITA, *the 16th of March, 1790.*

BRUCE TO MIRÓ

*March 24, 1790* <sup>224</sup>

DOMINICA *24th March 1790.*

SIR: I did myself the honor of writing your Excellency about Two Months ago in favor of M<sup>r</sup>. Sears, and am now to request your good Offices to the Bearer of this, Mr. Dick, who is sent on purpose to endeavour to recover a sum of money due by a M<sup>r</sup>. Pollock to M<sup>r</sup>. Cobham, a Gentleman who resides here, & for whom I have a great esteem—if you can render him any service, it will oblige me much; It will at all times make me happy to obey your Commands.

I have the honor, to be, with great regard & Esteem, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient, & most humble Servant.

JAMES BRUCE

His Excellency DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ  
Governor-General &c<sup>a</sup>. &c<sup>a</sup>. &c<sup>a</sup>.  
New Orleans.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*March 24, 1790* <sup>225</sup>

No. 129.

This winter has not been as rigorous as the two preceding ones, but there has been much ice and snow, which have made it too long. With the great scarcity of provisions that is being suffered, and the little that can be had extremely high, the country finds itself in great misery and many animals of all kinds have died. That fact, together with a number of horses that the Indians, particularly the Little Osages, have stolen from us this year, not only in this district, but also in that of Ste. Geneviève, is quite a heavy affliction for these poor settlers. I am taking all the steps I can to see whether I can recover the stolen horses, and to this end I have sent two men with a letter to the Little

<sup>224</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>225</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

Osage tribe, asking them to return what they have carried off. I shall not fail to do everything I think necessary for the peace and quiet of the inhabitants of these districts without exposing the country to a continuous war. Under present circumstances a war might be very prejudicial to its inhabitants, particularly those who carry on the trade and hunting so necessary to the welfare of the public.

The weather, which had begun to improve, led the people to begin sowing, but there has been so much rain this month that it prevents them from continuing because the ground is so muddy. The worst thing is that the season is becoming too far advanced, and, if this year there is not a fair harvest, the misery and need will increase, so that these poor people will not be able to live for lack of what they need for their maintenance.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *March 24, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*March 27, 1790*<sup>226</sup>

No. 45.

The Great Caddo tribe of Indians found itself obliged two years ago to change the location of its village on account of the continual war being waged on them by the Osage tribe. Being persecuted incessantly by their enemies, these Indians were obliged last month to take refuge in the village of the Little Caddo.

The Osages killed some of them and also Baptiste Le Duc, a creole residing in this post, whom they cut to pieces and scalped. It cannot be doubted that with the way open to these Osages, as it is now, they will within a short time descend upon the ranches in the vicinity of this post.

The Chickasaws, together with some Arkansas, crossed in the month of January into the territory of the Caddo in search of some Illinois Indians who had taken refuge under the protection of the said Caddo. Finding them, they killed some, including the medal chief.

I am exceedingly eager to have the captain general, to whom Your Lordship reported the hostilities and atrocities of the Osages, send an expedition against them. In this case I promise that I shall march with a goodly number of whites under my command, as well as many Indians under my jurisdiction and that of Texas. But it would first be necessary to close the doors against them, I mean deprive them of traders, and in this way they will find themselves with-

<sup>226</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.



out munitions of war, because in the place where they are, they cannot get aid, except from us.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *March 27, 1790.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

# PLAN FOR AMERICAN SETTLEMENT AT CHICKASAW BLUFFS <sup>227</sup>

## AN INVITATION

*To emigrate to the Western Country.*

*Notice is hereby given, to such of the good People of Maryland, and elsewhere, who are desirous of emigrating with their Families to the Western Country,*

*That a Settlement is intended to be made, at the Chickasaw-Bluff, on the Mississippi-river, and Western District of North-Carolina, in the spring, 1792.*

At this place, a TOWN, on the most liberal plan, will be laid out; and, after reserving four ordinary sized lots to the proprietor, the remainder as an encouragement to settlers, will be distributed among them by ballot, at the rate of one lot for each family; together with the privilege of tilling and cultivating the adjacent lands five years rent free— And as a further encouragement, there will be allotted to each family, (the number not exceeding 200), 100 acres of land at the *Mouth of the Big Hatcha-river*, (called in *Morse's Geography*, *Wolfe-river*), on payment of thirty-three and 1-3 dollars, at the time of landing: Or a lease of the same will be given 15 years—the first 10 years rent free, and 13 1-3 dollars per annum, thereafter— The lands to be drawn for as aforesaid; for which, and the lots, deeds of general warranty and leases will be executed by JOHN RICE, Esq; (of Cumberland,) to the head of each family, on demand. These lands abound in timber of all kinds, of the largest growth, are well supplied with springs, and constant running streams, sufficient for every purpose of agriculture; and for temperature of climate, fertility of soil, and vicinity to trace, claim a certain *preference* to the Kentucky and Cumberland settlements: Add to this, its happy situation with respect to Indian tribes—the nearest being the Chickasaw nation; whose towns lay down in Georgia, about 120 miles distant; and are a peaceable, friendly, and humane people: Suffice it to say, that, at their repeated and pressing solicitations, the intended settlement is in contemplation. A variety of circumstances concur in giving this place a preference to Kentucky. For a more ample description of it, see *Carey's Museum* for July, 1789, page 69. [Col. *Morgan's* settle-

<sup>227</sup> BL, (Printed in English).

ment.] The country there described, differing no way materially from it; and his new city of Madrid, situate on the *L'anse le Graisse*, and the Mississippi, being about 34 miles from the mouth of the Big Hatcha.—*Morse's Geography*, page 40, 420, 462, 468, just published, and to be had at Rice and Co's. Bookstore, Baltimore; [Price Two Dollars.] will, likewise, afford very useful information.— The distance from the Cumberland settlement to the Big Hatcha, is about 120 miles—from the mouth of the Ohio, about 70—from the Hatcha, by land, to New-Orleans, is about 390—by water 720 miles; which, agreeable to Capt. Hutchins, may easily be shortened 200 and odd miles. The benefit resulting to families by an early removal to the Western Country, at this time, needs no comment; and the argument of incapacity or unwillingness, on the common grounds of expence and acquaintance will, on the present occasion be, in part removed.— The present being particularly calculated for the meridian of Maryland, and the mode to be adopted in removing, will be attended with a small expence when compared to the usual practice of moving singly—for, judging on probable grounds, forty dollars, on an average, will answer the exigencies of each family from Fort-Pitt to the place of destination, (which can easily be run in ten or twelve days,) and provide a sufficient stock of provisions for the fall following. Mr. Rice, who joins in this settlement, has engaged to furnish live-stock and corn from the Cumberland settlement, on the lowest terms—the latter on loan should it be necessary. He has, likewise, agreed to furnish a respectable number of families from Cumberland to join in this settlement. Several families in Frederick, Ann-Arundel, Montgomery, and Charles-Counties, have already gave sanction to the undertaking, and become zealous partisans for the settlement. Catholics will find a particular interest in becoming adventurers, several of reputation having joined; and in case of 100 families of that persuasion subscribing, a generous donation of 1000 acres on the Hatcha, will be made their Church, and a Priest be procured to accompany them out. Subscriptions will be opened generally, and closed by the first of May, 1791. Notice will then be inserted in the public prints, and meetings take place among the subscribers, at the times and places expressed in such Notice; in those meetings the precise time of being at Fort-Pitt, ready for embarkation, will be determined, and every other necessary arrangement made.

Subscriptions will be in the hands of the following gentlemen, at the places named:

*Baltimore County.*

Capt. W. Winchester, Baltimore Town.  
 Riester's-Town.  
 Hook's-Town.  
 Red-House.

*Hartford County.*

Havre-de-Grase.  
 Bush-Town.  
 Joppa.  
 Abington.  
 Scott's Old Fields.

*Ann-Arundel County.*

Annapolis.  
 Elk-Ridge.  
 London-Town.  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Capt. W. Spurrier, Governor's-Bridge.  
 Mr. Hugh Maguire, Near Fred. Line.  
 Mr. John Wayman,

*Saint Mary's County.*

Leonard-Town.  
 Court-House.  
 St. Inigo.

*Charles-County.*

Mr. Ignatius Simpson, Port-Tobacco.  
 Captain T. Jenkins, Cob-Neck.  
 Mr. T. Jenkins, Nanjemoy.  
 Mr. Clement Smith, Cornwallis's-Neck.  
 Mr. A. M'Pherson, Bryan-Town.  
 Mr. B. Reader, near Newport.  
 Benedict.

*Calvert-County.*

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

*Prince George's County.*

Mr. S. Hamilton, near Upper Marlbro'.  
 Lower Marlbro'.

Mr. F. Dyer, near	Piscataway.
	Queen-Ann.
	Nottingham.
	Bladensburg.
Mr. ——— Wigfield,	Eastern Branch.

## Montgomery County.

Col. Charles Beatty,	George-Town.
Mr. James Simpson,	
Mr. J. M'Guire, near	Court-House.
Mr. ——— Day,	Court-House.
Mr. F. Clemens, on	Captain John.
Mr. W. M'Afee,	Seneca.
Mr. Simon Reader,	Mouth Monocasy.

## Frederick County.

Mr. Roger Brooke,	Taney-Town.
S. Winchester, Esq;	Westminster-Tn.
Mr. B. Musgrove,	Liberty Town.
Capt. M. Bayer,	Creagar's-Town.
Mr. R. Jennings,	Emmitsburg.
Mr. B. Beckwith,	Middletown.
Mr. L. Smith,	Berlin.
Mr. Nicholas Hall,	Newmarket.
Mr. W. Hobbs, near	Baltimore Line.
Mr. Joseph Smith,	Carroll's Manor.
Capt. P. Bainbridge,	Ketockton.
Major W. Shields,	Tom's-Creek.
Mr. Thomas Lilley,	Fulling-Mill.
Mr. Samuel Green,	Monocasy.
Mr. William Clements,	
Mr. A. Ritchie,	Frederick-Town.

## Washington-County.

Col. N. Rochester,	Hagar's-Town.
	William's-Port.
Mr. ——— Sheets,	Sharpsburg.
Mr. George Dent,	Cumberland.
	Old-Town.

## Virginia.

Mr. Henry Beatty,	Winchester.
Mr. Spalding,	Shep. Town.
Mr. Littlejohn,	Leesburg.
Mr. John Beatty,	Alexandria.
Mr. William Cook,	
Mr. Francis Hyland,	Richmond.

Pennsylvania.  
 Mr. William Wallace, Carlisle.  
                                     Little's-Town.  
 Mr. Wendle Keller, M'Allister's Tn.  
                                     Fort-Pitt,  
 And the different Towns in Kentucky.

*Frederick-Town, April 3, 1790.*

.....

*Frederick-Town:*

Printed by JOHN WINTER, at the Printing-Office in  
 Patrick-Street, near the Bridge.

[*Note in script at bottom of poster:*]

The above Bounty is now extended to all single men above 18 years.  
 And it is expected that further very considerable Encouragement will  
 be held forth which will timely be made publick— It is also expected  
 that a Garrison will be stationed at the Bluff in the Spring 1791.—

A considerable Number have already subscribed.—

MARTÍNEZ PACHECO TO DE BLANC

*April 6, 1790*<sup>228</sup>

Copy.

The copy of the letter that you sent to my lieutenant governor at  
 Nagogdoches, Don Antonio Gil Ybarbo, regarding the traders from  
 your province who were disposing of their merchandise among the  
 friendly Indians of this one, as a result of my letter of December 20,  
 last, written in consequence of the vicious information that was given  
 me, indicated very clearly your good co-operation in the royal  
 service, and that he might have proceeded with the apprehension of  
 the culprits. I shall repeat the same to him, so that the object to  
 which I am directing my efforts may be attained, as I explain in a  
 separate letter, replying to yours of February 10, last, in which you  
 enclosed it for me.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEJAR, *April 6, 1790.*

RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ PACHECO

Señor DON LUIS DE BLANC.

## MARTÍNEZ PACHECO TO DE BLANC

*April 6, 1790* <sup>229</sup>

Copy.

From your letter of February 10 last, I take note that the information that was given me regarding the traders and large amounts of merchandise that had been brought down from the post under your command to that of Nacogdoches, and disposed of among the friendly tribes of this province was vicious and false. This has pleased me greatly. I brought this to your attention in order to free myself of all responsibility, and to effect the proper remedy, based on the good harmony to which I direct my efforts, as it is the principal thing from which stem good results and happy success in governments.

The permission given to Don Josef María Armant need not cause you any concern, as I do not intend during the time I am in command to make any changes in the procedure that has been observed, but shall continue the existing harmony. I shall so instruct my lieutenant governor at Nacogdoches, as I have done on other occasions, for the best and most efficient service of the King.

May Our Lord protect Your Lordship for many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEJAR, *April 6, 1790.*

RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ PACHECO

Señor DON LUIS DE BLANC.

## FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*April 13, 1790* <sup>230</sup>

No. 12.

I take the opportunity by Caballero Dodge, who is going down promptly to advise Your Lordship what occurred in connection with a Chickasaw chief named Olacte Matla. The chief came down from I do not know where, because he would not say, and I quickly saw that he was loath to depart. The said chief, after giving me his hand, asked me for something to eat since he was hungry. I gave him two loaves of bread and a little tobacco that I had. He then asked for shirts for himself and his ten warriors, showing me his patent, authorizing him to ask for gifts; but as there was no interpreter, he returned to his canoe. At about six in the evening he came back with a mestizo of his party, who spoke English well, and a Frenchman of this post to repeat his request. I told him then that I was more or less *en voyage*, on account of being in a new settlement, and that I myself had not brought along everything that I needed, as I had not expected to stay long. Being a little drunk, he asked me what

<sup>229</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.<sup>230</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

his patent was good for, if on presenting it at a post, he was not given what he needed. I replied that it was good to enable him to command his warriors, and to make him obeyed and respected by everybody, and to serve His Catholic Majesty in case of necessity.

He then said to me that if that was all it was good for, he did not need it and that I could keep it. He placed it on the table and went off immediately with the medal, saying that he would not look on the people of this settlement as friends. He left his companions in my room, one of whom said to me that he was drunk and talked too much. I replied that for this reason I had not decided to arrest him in order to learn his plans, but I hoped that they would bring him to me in the morning. I said that they should take care that he did not fall into the river, and that no accident should befall him. This was a political precaution, which we are forced to observe here, as we always have twenty of these savages here to one white man. The inhabitants are too few to defend themselves and preserve their animals and themselves, if these Indians are not treated kindly in the beginning. This precaution I have always in mind; and considering that the chief was a little drunk, I did not arrest him, thinking that he would return in the morning, but he did not appear.

Just at present there are passing here on this river three commissioners of the Congress, who are going to the Chickasaw nation to propose to them the establishment of a fort at the mouth of the Cherokee River. The bearer of this, Don John Dodge, will tell your Lordship that I have not been able to learn more about this incident, which I report to Your Lordship for your information.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE, *April 13, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*April 14, 1790* <sup>231</sup>

I send Your Lordship herewith a statement of the recent arrivals from Kentucky by three flatboats, listing the tobacco and other goods that they have brought, and which are being taken down to your capital. There are no proprietors, only representatives or agents commissioned with the sale thereof, and they are returning with the other oarsmen to their original homes.

I communicate this to Your Lordship for your information.

<sup>231</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *April 14, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

---

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the goods and persons brought from Kentucky by three flatboats that arrived at this post today, date as below.

*First boat.*

Agent—Samuel South  
34 hogsheads of tobacco  
12 barrels of meat.  
1100 pounds of pork  
200 pounds of lard  
200 pounds of tallow

*Employees*

William Luck	John Sterret
Shadrach Cutts	Samuel Sterret

*Second Boat*

Agent—Van Swearingen  
29 hogsheads of tobacco.  
32 barrels of meat.  
80 pounds of lard.  
3 barrels of tallow  
40 pounds of candles  
100 pounds of tallow  
1 cart.

*Employees*

James Clark	Lengford Herring
Edward Maddin	Moses Jandy

*Third boat.*

Agent—Job Routh  
38 casks of tobacco.

*Employees*

John Mott	Jeremiah Orewdy
John Vowley	

All those mentioned in the foregoing list are proceeding to New Orleans, and then returning to their homes.

NATCHEZ, *April 11, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

NATCHEZ, *April 14, 1790.*

I give permission to Job Routh to proceed with three oarsmen to New Orleans in a flatboat loaded with thirty-eight casks of



tobacco from Kentucky. I request that no hindrance be put in the way of his journey.

BATON ROUGE, *April 18, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*April 15, 1790* <sup>232</sup>

No. 38.

Enclosed Your Lordship will find the report of the Americans who took the oath of fealty on the twelfth day of this month. None has his family here. Those who are married will be obliged to make another voyage to their country in order to bring their families and goods here.

This is all that I can inform Your Lordship on this matter.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE, *April 15, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the Americans who gave the oath of fealty on the 12th day of this month.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Number</i>
Aaron Day	1
Thomas Logan	1
Gameo Cooper	1
Thomas Berdun	1
John Stewart	1
William Mock	1
Azour Rees	1
Jerimah Kendall	1
Frederico Toope	1
Pedro Daroche	1
Antoni Klicky	1
Joseph Locke	1
William Kendall	1
Davies Anderson	1
Samuel Davies	1
William Forman	1
Richard Pearl	1

Benjamin Lafrete	1
Arthur Mullen	1
	<hr/>
	19

L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE, *April 15, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*April 16, 1790*<sup>233</sup>

No. 49.

As the time is now near when the Indian tribes of this jurisdiction will arrive at this post to receive the presents that are given them annually, I beg Your Lordship please to order them delivered to Militia Captain Don Juan Bautista Ailhaud Ste. Anne, as well as the replacement of the thirty jugs of brandy which were short in last year's present, as instructed by Your Lordship in letter of January 2, this year.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *April 16, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*April 22, 1790*<sup>234</sup>

I enclose to Your Lordship three reports listing the people and goods recently arrived from North America. I distinguish between the ones who have come here to settle and those who are returning. Also listed are the goods which they brought and are taking down to that capital with the exception of those of Ezekiel Forman.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *April 22, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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(*Accompanying the foregoing*)

List of the families and goods which Don Ezekiel Forman has brought from the United States of America, from the province of Pennsylvania and which arrived this date.

<sup>233</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>234</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

Ezekiel Forman, his wife, a son and three daughters.

67 Negroes  
3 horses  
1 cow  
Provisions  
Household goods  
Work implements.

*Passengers:*

Ebenezer Smund  
Elisabeth Chacach

*Employees:*

Christian Harltock  
George Robens  
Guillermo Oconor

All to settle in this province.

NATCHEZ, *April 16, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of the goods which two flatboats from Kentucky brought this date and a list of names of the individuals which came on them.

*First boat:*

Owner—Jon Rid  
20 casks of tobacco.  
5 barrels of salt.  
3 bundles of furs.

*Employees:*

David Ferguson  
Jacob Huber

Thomas Hall  
Francis Hughs  
Patrick Juin

*Second boat:*

Owner—Juan Caulan  
580 barrels of flour.

*Employees:*

Samuel Lane  
Peter Kens

Peter Young  
James Graham  
One Negro

NATCHEZ, *April 19, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of five flatboats which arrived here this date from Kentucky showing the goods and men which arrived with them.

Owner—Guillermo Thomson  
150,095 pounds of tobacco  
70 barrels of flour

*Employees:*

Thomas Anderson	Davenport
Matias Joteton	Alexander Wright
Andrews Blackamene	David Greenleef
Dorcas Blackamene	John Coil
John Elsworth	John Paul
John Bull	Matias McCau
John Linsey	Abel Stout
Tomas Adams	John Pierre
	Wm. Pierres
	Alexander Ynnis
	Wm. Norris
	David Norris
	David McGuierel

*To settle*

John Davis  
 Edmund Folbert  
 Philip Board  
 Wm. Armstrong  
 Wm. Hall  
 Anthony Roberts, his wife, one  
 son and one daughter  
 1 Negro.  
 Hugh O' Finny, his wife, one son  
 and 3 daughters.

NATCHEZ, *April 19, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*April 24, 1790*<sup>235</sup>

I send the enclosed reports listing the recent arrivals from North America with the goods they brought. The greater part will settle in this district and some have the intention of doing business, as is marked in the margin.

Of these latter ones, John Coburns has landed his goods here and I have given the necessary order to the warehouse master to collect the fees.

John Keyser and Wm. John Grant went down to the capital with goods. The latter disembarked here the eighty gallons of whiskey and three saddles which I mentioned in one of the reports. I bring this

<sup>235</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

to Your Lordship's attention in order that Your Lordship may charge the fees, which were not collected here, if it pleases you.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *April 24, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the goods and families brought on a flatboat which arrived here today from Virginia belonging to Patrick Sharky.

Owner—Patrick Sharky—to settle

8600 pounds of iron in the form of pans, chimney irons, and  
irons for wagons

40 pounds of iron in bars

6000 pounds of pork

80 pounds of butter

*To Settle*

James Henderson

John Stogan

Thomas Smith

Thomas McElwee

Edmon Johnson, his family of five and three Negroes

Berry Thuns and his family of four

John Roberts and his family of three

Thomas Daniel

Thomas Sulban

NATCHEZ, *April 22, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of the goods and people that arrived on a flatboat this date from Kentucky.

Owner—Hugh McGaney—to settle

15 casks of tobacco

4000 pounds of dried meat

300 pounds of hemp

400 pounds of tallow

3 Negroes

*Employees*

Joshua Richards

Lewis Whitsel—to settle

Lewis Holms

NATCHEZ, *April 20, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of goods and people that arrived here this date on two flatboats from Kentucky.

*First boat*

Owner—John Coburns—To return to his home.

77 barrels of flour

100 bags of wheat

4 saddles

2 boxes of medicine belonging to Charles Todd

4 axes

*Employees*

Charles Todd—he is the only one who will settle in this district.

Robert Connelly

Uriah Gazon

1 Negro and his two sons

*Second boat*

Owner—John Keyser—returned to America.

40 barrels of meat

13 ditto of pork

12 boxes of candles

6 casks of tobacco

400 pounds of ham

6 saddles

*Employees*

Peter Suman

George Parker

Michael Rayber.—They will return to America.

NATCHEZ, April 29, 1790.

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of the goods and people that arrived here this date on a flatboat from Kentucky.

Owner—John Cowa—to settle

*Employees*

Peter Younge

James Graham

Samuel Lame—To return

1 Negro and 180 barrels of flour

NATCHEZ, April 23, 1790.

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of the people and goods that arrived here this date from Kentucky on two *berchas* and one flatboat.

Owner of the first *bercha*—George Bieralter, his wife and one son.

*Employees*

Charles Jones, his wife and two sons

Jacob Roads	James Stewart
George Walker	Authur Slone
Joseph Walker	Joseph Slone
Luis Evans	John Enrufty
	Michael Willson

*Goods*

3000 pounds of pots	4 grindstones
2000 ditto of iron	7 saddles

Owner of the second *bercha*—William Perkins

*Employees*

James Lusk, his wife and  
two sons

Francis Jones	Three Negroes
---------------	---------------

*Goods*

2000 pounds of pots	6 pairs of mill stones
1000 pounds of cast iron	3 grind stones

Everyone mentioned intends to settle in this province.

Owner of flatboat—

Wm. John Grant

*Employees to return to their homes*

Samuel Lee	Michael Sheehy
Robert Mickelbourg	Wm. John Grant

*Goods*

48 barrels of meat	80 gallons of whiskey
2 ditto of tallow	3 saddles
300 pounds of butter	

8 casks of tobacco belonging to an inhabitant of this district—  
Bukner Pilman.

NATCHEZ, *April 23, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

VALLIERE TO MIRÓ

*April 27, 1790* <sup>236</sup>

No. 185.

On the 24th instant, there arrived at this post the great medal chief of the Mascou tribe, named Toupalga, the bearer of this letter,

<sup>236</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

who had gone to hunt along this river with six men of his tribe, as I advised Your Lordship in my letter 168. A short distance from where they were encamped a band of Osages fell on a camp of three hunters, named Batiste Ynbo, his son, and Tomas Alleman, to rob them. Two of them escaped but the third was seized. The two who fled encountered the Mascou chief, whom they told what had befallen them, asking him to help them attack the Osages, who were still in their camp. The said chief immediately set out with his men, and, encountering the Osages, killed five of them and took one prisoner, whom they were bringing to me, but he made so much trouble that they were obliged to kill him.

The Mascous lost one man. This action was very much appreciated by the Arkansas, who were preparing to go to war, as well as by myself.

I have received them well, and so that they might enjoy themselves with the Indians of this tribe I have given them two barrels of brandy, two rolls of tobacco, a half-pound of powder to each man, and one to the chief, with double that of ball for going down to this capital.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *April 27, 1790.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

---

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

No. 171.

The Indians are arriving from everywhere, and not in small parties. They see the fort without a stockade. Although I had one made, it no longer is good for anything. Having been told that the Chickasaws would return this summer to the number of more than two hundred to hunt along the river, because there are no deer in their country, and as they are not very good friends of the other tribes which live hereabouts, such as the Miami, Illinois, Abenaky, etc., I had the inhabitants assemble a few days ago, and explained to them the necessity of repairing the fort, as the tribes were arriving from everywhere, and some disaster might occur without their having any place to take refuge. They replied that repairs were worth little if the whole fort was useless, and that moreover they had already built this fort twice.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *January 12, 1790.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.



No. 172.

There has just arrived a hunter from along this river, named Joseph de Arden. He has told me that the Osages had taken four of his comrades, and that the rest of the hunters were encamped a short distance from this post, where they had no hunting by which to live. They are a band of loafers, who do nothing but defraud their creditors. They suffer less from the Osages than they claim; and as they do not till the soil, they call themselves hunters without being so. They have not come down for two years, although they have my permission for only the usual nine months. I had thought, up to the moment of this last news, of giving those whose passports had expired orders to come down, but did not do so, thinking that it might give rise to some complaint. In order to remedy this I await Your Lordship's decision.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *January 12, 1790.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

No. 174.

For one year past bands of Indians have been continually passing through here, not only from the north, but also from elsewhere, causing me expense for the chiefs, who always stay in my house. I can do less than admit them courteously for many reasons, primarily that of the condition of the fort which has few troops. Moreover, it is the desire of Your Lordship.

These Indians up here are very courteous, and accustomed to being well-treated. All these things result in their always asking for things, and it is very difficult to refuse them. This matter I bring to Your Lordship's attention.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARKANSAS, *January 12, 1790.*

JOSEPH VALLIERE (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*April 30, 1790*<sup>237</sup>

Enclosed Your Lordship will find the designated report of the new immigrants from North America and the goods they brought, distinguishing between those who are to return and those who remain to settle in this district. These latter have given their due oath of fealty.

<sup>237</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

The owner Alexandro Fowler with his boat and cargo has come down here, which I bring to the notice of Your Lordship.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *April 30, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the men and goods brought by two flatboats which arrived at this date from Pennsylvania.

Alexandro Fowler—to settle

*Employees to settle.*

Thomas McDermot

Frederick Murens

Casper House

Daniel Jph. Tylar

James Grey

James Amberson—to return

William Dougherty—to return.

*Merchandise.*

182 barrels of flour.

NATCHEZ, *April 30, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 4, 1790* <sup>238</sup>

I send Your Lordship herewith a statement of the recent arrivals from Kentucky by two boats whose proprietors, Henry French and John Paterson, are also owners of the Negroes and tobacco. They have come to settle in this province. The others, who are their employees, are to return.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 4, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the persons and goods brought by two boats that have arrived at this port from Kentucky, owner—Henry French.

<sup>238</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

John Paterson with four Negroes, to settle.

*Employees—to return.*

Lavallin Borry

Thomas Clements

James Liddle

Fransh Wilson

Adam Gutery

Richard Percy

William Jensly

*Cargo*—59 hogsheads of tobacco

NATCHEZ, *May 4, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*May 4, 1790*<sup>239</sup>

No. 54.

Seven Indians of the Miami nation, with their families, arrived at this post on the 30th of last month. They asked, in the name of their Chief Pacanne, who at present is with his people in Ste. Geneviève of Illinois together with the Shawnees, for the permit to establish themselves in the district under my command. They should return next September bearing the answer to the said chief. May it please Your Lordship to advise me whether there is any objection so that I may inform these people.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *May 4, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 5, 1790*<sup>240</sup>

The flatboat belonging to Don Charles Wilkins is going down to your city with part of its cargo. I send Your Lordship herewith a statement of the men and goods on board, coming from Pittsburg.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 5, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

---

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Statement of the men and goods brought down from the province of Pennsylvania by a flatboat and a barge that arrived at this post today, date as below, under the command of Don Charles Wilkins.

<sup>239</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>240</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

Owner, Don Charles Wilkins

*To return.*

James Ewing

William Blahny

James Adams

Robert Aithynson

*To settle.*

William Collins

John Holosof

Anthony M. Conoly

Luis Waunos

William Farnis

*Goods.*

144 barrels of flour

23 kegs of butter

1260 pounds of iron in pots and bars.

NATCHEZ, *April 30, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

#### GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 8, 1790*<sup>241</sup>

I send Your Lordship enclosed two reports of the recent arrivals with the goods they brought from North America, with the distinction between those who remain to settle and those who must return.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 8, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

---

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the people and the goods brought on a flatboat coming from the province of Pennsylvania belonging to Francisco Jacobo who arrived here this date.

Owner—Francisco Jacobo

*Employees to return.*

Juan Quine

Juan Oaza

Juan Begam

Roberto Ormeston

Alexis Ratel.

*Goods*—196 barrels of flour.

NATCHEZ, *May 4, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Report of the people and goods brought by two flatboats which arrived to-day at this place from the province of Pennsylvania in charge of David Achison.

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<sup>241</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

Owner—David Achison

*Employees to return.*

Alexander Laun

Ricardo Miller

Roberto Pefher

Rodger Hachuy

Federico Tettman

Samuel Reduk

Joseph Orr

James Mc Hamer

Williams Effing

*Goods*—196 barrels of flour.

4 barrels of butter.

*Belonging to Robert Cochran*—Planter in this district.

10 barrels of flour.

5 barrels of whiskey.

1 box of candles.

NATCHEZ, *May 6, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 8, 1790*<sup>242</sup>

Enclosed Your Lordship will find a report of the people and goods recently come from North America with two brothers of the adjutant major of this city, Don Estevan Minor. The last two persons stay to settle in this district.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 8, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the cargo and people which came from Pennsylvania in the flatboats belonging to Messrs. William and Theophilus Minor which arrived at this place today.

Owner—William Minor and Theophilus Minor, to settle.

*Employees to return.*

Timothy Edwards

Russell Oliver

Thomas Martin

Jacob Trimble

John Kendrick

James Woods

*Goods*—200 barrels of flour

15 barrels of whiskey

5 barrels of cider

500 pounds of bacon

5 pair mill stones

NATCHEZ, *May 5, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

<sup>242</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

## O'FALLON TO BRUIN

*May 13, 1790* <sup>243</sup>LIXINGTON, IN KENTUCKY, *May 13<sup>th</sup>: 1790.*

SIR: In the full hope & confidence that your venerable Father (with whom, while a sojourner in Charleston, I had the honor of no small intimacy) must, e'er now be arrived; I shall weave any Introduction of myself, other than to intimate: that, though the last perhaps, I am not the least among the unequivocal Friends of y<sup>r</sup>. whole House—, and that, under cover of your address, I herewith beg leave to transmit a Letter, from him to you, destined to have been carried by a M<sup>r</sup>. Whelan, whose departure has been postponed—, one likewise from y<sup>r</sup>. Aunt (whom, on my rout through North Carolina, I had purposely visited at Col. Walker's—, as also one, from myself to y<sup>r</sup>. esteemed Father, and one, to you, from Major Thomas Washington. I expect that M<sup>r</sup>. Whelan is actually on his way, for this place; from whence his departure will be subsequent to mine; as some business which I have to leave in his hands will detain him here. I have therefore taken charge of y<sup>r</sup>. Father's Letter to you; that, in case of the good Man's detention at St. Augustine, the Havanah, or Pensacola, your Family may know of his having been well, and on his way, in February last.

I purpose to depart for New Orleans, from the Ohio-falls, in about a Month. I shall, in descending the Mississippi, pay you, by a short visit, the tribute of my perfect esteem, although personally unacquainted; having much to confer with yourself & Father. I have the honor to be with distinguished respect & regard—

Sir y<sup>r</sup>. Sincere & assured Friend—

JAMES O FALLON.

Col. BRYAN BRUIN.

[Addressed:]

Col. Bryan Bruin, Washitaw Settlement near the Natches.

## O'FALLON TO BRUIN

*May 13, 1790* <sup>244</sup>LIXINGTON *May the 13<sup>th</sup>: 1790.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I left Charleston in about six weeks subsequent to y<sup>r</sup>. departure for St. Augustine, consonant, very nearly, to the period of time I had intimated to you. My arrival at this place was on the 27<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>; where I have been received with the greatest deference & cordiality by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wilkenson, Judges Innes,

<sup>243</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>244</sup> BL, (English).

Muter & Sebastian, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Scott, Col. Nicholas, Judge MacDowel & others, the most influential in this country. The objects of my Business have been so many, and with so many People of every Grade; not to talk of the length of road I had to travel—, its intricateness & difficulty thro' Mud, Mountains of enormous breadth & heighth, precipitious, craggy & briary—, and the deviations I had to make, from my direct Line of March, to visit characters of eminence in South & North Carolina, and in Franklin: that my arrival at this place had been unduely protracted. I purpose to set out, with Wilkenson's Fleet of Boats, for New Orleans, about the beginning of the ensuing Month—, when, on my passage down the River, I mean to visit you & family, at your place, on its Margin. My detention in this country, 'till then, will be necessarily occasioned, by a Settlement I have to make with Col. John Holder of this neighborhood; who was intrusted with two thousand Pounds Sterl<sup>s</sup>. worth of Goods, by the *South Carolina Yazoo* company; all which he had dissipated. Some considerable part of these Goods, and some which he has converted into proceeds of Tobacco, Pork, & he has (hearing of my arrival) endeavoured to pourloin; by fraudulently assigning over, or consigning them to one Andrew MacCrosree, or MacCloskee, a *pesantic* Scot, late a Boatman of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wilkenson's—, a Man of infamous character in this place—, a Block of ignominy exactly suited for the wedge of such a fellow as Holder—, a being who occasionally visits New Orleans, and prouls there for Pray—, and one, in a word, who (under Holder's orders) is actually afloat on the Ohio, and on his way to New Orleans with the Company's Effects, as above-mentioned—, in the avowed design of sharing their returns there among *themselves* and to defraud our mutual & worthy Friends, Major Washington, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Huger, Col. Moultrie & Major Snipes, who *solely* paid for, the same and, in the blindest confidence & faith, had intrusted them to the care of Holder, under terms of contract, *every one* of which he had *designedly* & basely violated.

As Agent General & Attorney to the aforesaid Gentlemen & Company, in every thing that concerns them at New Orleans, Pensacola, and throughout the *whole* of this Western territory—, and as one duely invested with an authenticated commission, and plenary Powers for the same—; I earnestly request your friendly interposition with Governor Miro, or his Successor, if any, against those two Fellows, in behalf of those highly injured Gentlemen, whose Property in that Scotchman's hands (for the whole of what he now has with him, is *certainly* their's) I beg of you to deprive him of, or attatch, and preserve the same, *subject to my orders*, till my arrival in Louisiana: And the more legally to effect & perform this act of needed friendship, in the premisses—, I, (in virtue of my powers &

authorities, as aforesaid) do hereby, and as fully, formally, & sincerely as if done, executed & perfected with every requisite of legal exactness, authorize, depute, nominate, constitute & appoint you, Brian Bruin Esq<sup>r</sup>.—, together with your son, Brian Bruin, otherwise called Colonel Brian Bruin, jointly and severally, my legal Attorneys in the premisses—, for & in behalf of Thomas Washington, William Clay Snipes, Isaac Hunger, and Alexander Moultrie Esq<sup>rs</sup>., the Gentlemen aforesaid, As witness my Hand, as at foot of this Letter, this year & Date as at its commencement.

I shall do myself the honor of addressing the Governor on *this business*, by the same conveyance which carries this Letter—, to verify, *as well as I now can*, by my Sentiments & Handwriting, the authenticity of this Deputation—; trusting, that, until my arrival, His Excellency will deign to give due credit to those Powers I really & bona fide possess, which sanction your & your son's appointments. His Excellency (on account of the pressing, present Emergency) will overlook, I hope, those legal informalities which must unavoidably attend an instrument of this hasty nature. That my claim is *Just*, will appear, by inspecting Holder's Instructions to this Scot—, in which you will see, that the effects he confided to his disposal (if lost) are on account & at the risque of those Gentlemen. Much address must be used, to find out so obscure a Fellow, and to procure a sight of his confidential Papers. Nor I, nor your friends will ever forget this favour. Sell, if you can, the Tobacco, Goods, Pork &c to the best advantage—, and keep the proceeds till I shall have arrived, which will be, I hope, towards the end of June, or beginning of July. This authority you may shew to his Excellency.

I have purposely called on y<sup>r</sup>. wife's sister, at Col. Walker's. Inclosed, under y<sup>r</sup>. son's cover, I herewith transmit a Letter from her to Col. Ralph Humphries. She & family are well. They destine themselves, by the Fall, for y<sup>r</sup>. Settlement.

As I shall have some business of moment to transact, *confidentially*, with y<sup>r</sup>. good Governor, and as he knows me not *personally*, I shall be exceedingly obliged to yourself & the Colonel, if you will address His Excellency, in my behalf, for a *Passport & Protection*, while within the purview of his Government, to transact what I have to transact—, affairs of *private* Debts to myself, and other affairs of *public* concernment, which may, I trust, be found, by him, of no small importance to the *Spanish* Nation. To be of use to that nation is, you know, the business which now carries me to New Orleans: for without *his concurrence*, I'll do nothing. The Protection & Passport may remain for me at y<sup>r</sup>. House; so as not to delay me on my rout down the River. I shall likewise write, by this conveyance, to His Excellency on the occasion. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wilkenson and myself are fast-maturing things *HERE*, to the purposes which I hinted to you,



while in Charleston. A word to the Wise is enough. I shall defer saying more, until I see you—; who am, My very Dear Friend, with profound respect & regard—your devoted & very assured Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>—

JAMES Ô FALLON (Rubric).

BRYAN BRUIN ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

P. S. MacCloskee may be heard of at Mr. Pollock's.

O'FALLON TO MİRÖ

May 13, 1790<sup>245</sup>

LIXINGTON (in Kentucky) May 13<sup>th</sup>: 1790.

SIR: As the visit which I have long since meditated to your Excellency's Government, is not unknown to the late Minister from your Court to Congress, nor to the Government at S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine, with both of whom I have now held near two years *very confidential* correspondence; with the latter of whom I had lately resided above two Months, on terms of the strictest Intimacy—; and through both whom I repeatedly had the high honor of laying some very interesting Facts of political Intelligence before the feet of His Catholic Majesty—: As all this, May it please Your Excellency, is the case—; I shall weave, on the present occasion, any further Introduction of myself, (for this letter may miscarry) ; until I shall have the honor of attending personally on y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency at New Orleans. This, as M<sup>r</sup>. Bryan Bruin can tell you, was my design—, when he favoured me with a visit, lately in Charleston—; and it was this, and this alone which, through Mountains, Deserts & Wilds, tedious & difficult of access, and infested by hostile Hords of Indians; which led me thus far, on my rout to visit you. For the rest, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wilkenson, (who is now absent, and who is your own & your Nation's *determined* friend) will, in his Letter to you by myself, inform your Excellency, *who* and *what* I am—, nay, what is more, that which (if countenanced) *I can be to y<sup>r</sup>. country*, which I have always, even *hereditarily* reveranced—

I will not, any longer, detain the attention of your Excellency, than to inform you: that I purpose to set out for New Orleans, from the Ohio-Falls, in one of the General's Boats, sometime in the beginning of the Month next ensuing—; and that, in the meantime, I have to solicit two small Favours of your Excellency. The one, to sanction the legal proceedings of my two deputed Attorneys, against one Andrew Mac Croscree, or Mac Closkee, an obscure Scot, who, as the pliant Instrument of a certain John Holder of this District, has made off with Goods, Tobacco, &c, to y<sup>r</sup>. Government—, in the view of appropriating their proceeds to their own uses, and of defrauding their original & *real* owners in Charleston of them, (on hearing of my

arrival), whose Attorney I AM—, and who had, a year since, unfortunately, but very confidentially intrusted them into Holder's hands, whom they *then* thought to have been, in this country, a man of some property & probity. The residuary merits of this transaction will be laid before your Excellency by my said Attorneys: and it is the fear I entertain, (upon sale of those, my Principals' and Friends' Effects), that Mac Closky will fly from y<sup>r</sup>. Government, with the proceeds, before I can arrive at New Orleans—, that I would dare presume on y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's friendly & authoritative Interposition, *to have the Effects stopped*, until such my arrival.

The other Favour I have to solicit, at your Excellency's hands, is: to order a *Protectionary Passport* for me, to pass to, and tarry in the Metropolis of your Government during one Month or two, as y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency may adjudge: having some business of *high*, but *secret* & *confidential* moment to y<sup>r</sup>. nation & Province, *personally* to transact with y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency—, as I shall disclose to y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency, on my arrival. This Protectionary Passport your Excellency will be so obliging as to have deposited for me, in the hands of my friends and Attorneys, Bryan Bruin Esq<sup>r</sup>. and of his son, the Colonel; that, when stopping at their residence, on my way, I may the more uninterruptedly & securely pass down to you, at New Orleans—, being as yet, an utter stranger to the customs prevalent in y<sup>r</sup>. Province. I have likewise some other business, of a *private* & *personal* nature, to transact at New Orleans—, respecting a large Debt due to me, by assignment, from Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Pousset and Marshal—, against whom I have requested (through my friend, Capt. Howard, Provincial Secretary of East Florida) Major White to proceed, for recovery, some considerable time since. With great deference & esteem, I have the honor to remain, very unequivocally—

Your Excellency's

Most obed<sup>t</sup>. and very

humble servant—

JAMES O FALLON (Rubric).

His Excellency GOVERNOR MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

May 16, 1790 <sup>246</sup>

I send to Your Lordship a list enumerating the new immigrants that have arrived and their effects.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, May 16, 1790.

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

List of people and cargo of two flatboats which arrived here this date from Pennsylvania.

First boat.

*To settle.*

Owner—James Beattey

Employee—Laurence Milchez

*To return.*

William Miller

Josiah White

Turpin Fales

Bernard Edgun

Ducan McKensy

*Goods*—280 Barrels of flour

4 ditto of meat

4 ditto of bacon

1700 pounds of pig-iron

1000 pounds of iron in bars

2 barrels of whiskey

150 pounds of candles

75 pounds of wax

2 side saddles

1 stallion

Second boat.

*To settle*

Owner—John Tate

Employees—Miguel Jacobs

Jph. Shery

*To return.*

Tomas Paterson

James Dorning

*Goods*—107 barrels of flour

5 barrels of whiskey

NATCHEZ, May 16, 1790.

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

May 16, 1790<sup>247</sup>

I send herewith a report listing the recent arrivals from North America and the goods they brought with them, distinguishing between those who came to settle in this province and those who

<sup>247</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

are to return. These last ones are George Marshall and Wm. Tomson, who with their goods will go down to the capital.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 16, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of two flatboats having come here from Kentucky with the names of the people and goods they brought.

First boat.

Owner of first and second boat—George Marshall

*Employees*

Abran Darlington  
Friend Carter  
John Armstrong  
Wm. Major  
Aaron Lawson  
Adam Fruvin  
Stephen Scribes  
Abran Scriber

*Passenger*

Richard Broungh and one Negro—for settlement.  
Two Negroes belonging to the owner.

*Goods*

66 casks of tobacco  
15 barrels of flour  
4 barrels of butter

Second boat.

Wm. Tomson }  
Charles Depos } in charge

*Employees*

Isaac Morris  
Juan Collek  
Martin Morrow  
George Frazer  
Carlos McMullir

*Goods*

27 casks of tobacco  
28 barrels of flour  
12 barrels of whiskey  
4 barrels of butter  
800 pounds of linseed

NATCHEZ, *May 16, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

## CAMPO DE ALANGE TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*May 24, 1790*<sup>248</sup>

The large armaments that England is preparing at present give the King well-founded reason to guard against any enterprise that that nation may attempt, and to resist its forces and frustrate its plans, if the negotiations for peace that have been begun are not successful as is hoped. To this end the King desires that as soon as Your Lordship receives this advice you should exercise prudent precaution, visit or have visited the posts under your command, and study in advance the means of which you can avail yourself for their defense, in case they are attacked, and moreover inspect the equipment and effects of the artillery, its arms and munitions, so that, keeping them in good condition, you can avail yourself of them on occasion with advantage to the royal service.

His Majesty is satisfied that in addition to these instructions, Your Lordship's zeal for the honor of his arms will suggest to you the measures for emerging with glory from any invasion that may be attempted in the district under your command.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 24, 1790.*

EL CONDE DEL CAMPO DE ALANGE (Rubric)

Señor Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Louisiana and Florida.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*May 25, 1790*<sup>249</sup>

I enclose to Your Lordship four reports which relate to the recent arrivals from North America, with the goods they have brought with them, distinguishing between those who came to settle in this province and those who are to return. Some of these have gone down to the capital and the others will shortly depart for the same place.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *May 25, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the people and cargo of a flatboat coming from Pennsylvania which arrived here today.

<sup>248</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.

<sup>249</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

Owner—Wm. Chambers—to settle.

*Employees*—to return.

James Kellgour

Wm. Breman

Thomas French

*Goods*

46 barrels of flour

3 barrels of meat

800 yards of unbleached linen.

500 pounds of cast iron

100 pounds of smoked meat.

Some red earthen pots.

NATCHEZ, *May 15, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Report of the men and goods brought by three flatboats, from Kentucky this date.

*First boat.*

Owner—Israel Doick

Employee—Juan Etakmon

9 slaves

} Inhabitants of Baton Rouge

*Goods*

100 barrels of flour

29 barrels of salt meat.

4 boxes of candles.

*Second boat.*—To settle.

Owner—Roberto Gordon

Employee—Godfray Smith.

Jacobo Hover

Roberto Ros

*Goods*

148 barrels of flour.

3 stills.

*Third boat.*—To settle.

Owner—Juan Boyle

Employee—Hugh Matues

*Goods*

54 barrels of flour.

NATCHEZ, *May 17, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of occupants and goods of the two flatboats which arrived here this date from Kentucky.

*First boat*.—To settle.

Owner—Carlos Ewing

*Employees and passengers*

Guillermo Broder

Leonar Robel

Samuel Ewing—to return

Ricardo Payl—to return

James Smith—to return.

*Goods*

2 wagons

one calash

2 pairs of mill stones for horses.

21 pairs of mill stones for hand

600 pounds of bacon

200 pounds of butter

1 still

37 casks of tobacco.

*Second boat*—to return.

Owner—Borel Bulet

*Employees*—Jorge King

Benjamin Wilcoxas

Juan Onon

To settle—Santiago Oconor

*Goods*

42 casks of tobacco

3000 pounds of bacon

300 pounds of butter

100 ditto of tallow

100 gallons of whiskey

NATCHEZ, May 23, 1790.

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

List of the people and goods which have come on a flatboat under the command of Don Juan Pery coming from the province of Pennsylvania which arrived here this date.

*To return*

Owner—Don Juan Pery

Miguel Powers

Abran Roberson

*To settle*

James Bron  
Gorge Wolf  
Guillermo Beship

*Goods*

6 casks of tobacco  
3 stills  
2 wagons  
1 saddle  
2 kegs of powder

NATCHEZ, *April 30, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

FORBES TO O'NEILL

*May 27, 1790*<sup>250</sup>

SIR: I called upon your Excellency this morning and was Sorry to understand that you was Sick—The intention of my visit was to beg the favor of you to lend us about 2500 lb of Bullets, as ours are entirely gone and there is a great number of Traders still to dispatch, who will be greatly disapointed if they go off without their Supply of that necessary article.

I wish your Excellency better Health and Remain  
Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN FORBES (Rubric)

PENS<sup>LA</sup> *27th May 1790.*

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

*May 29, 1790*<sup>251</sup>

Don Ventura Collel has delivered to me on his arrival here the goods and effects that he received from the royal stores in your city to bring to this post for account of the royal exchequer. The goods are intended as Indian presents for the current year, as shown by the copy of the manifest that Your Lordship has sent me, certified by the chief *contador* of this province, of which effects I have taken charge. This I communicate to Your Lordship for your information, and so that you may cancel the charge made by the chief accounting office against the said Don Ventura Collel.

I bring to Your Lordship's attention at the same time the fact that having noticed at the time the said goods were delivered to me that the five packages of thread were much smaller than those of last year,

<sup>250</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

<sup>251</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.



it was necessary to weigh them. It was found that each one weighed only two pounds, although they should weigh four, and having opened one, it was found upon comparison with those on hand in the storehouse, that each packet of one pound did not contain more than half of the usual quantity, and consequently there is a shortage of ten pounds for the twenty. As it is not possible to presume that there was any fraud committed on the voyage, because the box in which it came arrived in good condition and nailed, and because of the fact that the packets of thread themselves arrived properly tied, and therefore, as it is not possible that they had been opened, it is to be presumed that it is the fault of the merchant from whom they were obtained, because a certain person who was present at the inspection says that he found the same shortage in a little that he bought in your city before the departure of the boat. Judging from the quality of the thread and the style of the packets, it must have been obtained from the merchant, M. Segon.<sup>252</sup>

This I bring to Your Lordship's attention, as the shortage is no less than half, making it impossible to balance my account upon distribution of same.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS DE YLINUESES, *May 29, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*June 10, 1790*<sup>253</sup>

To Your Lordship I remit three enclosed reports which show the individuals, who came from North America and the goods they brought belonging to other immigrants who previously arrived in this province to settle in it.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *June 10, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the people and goods brought by a boat coming from Fort Pitt, belonging to Mr. Thomas Reid which arrived at this post this date.

<sup>252</sup> For earlier activities, see testimony of Pablo Segond, June 1, 1772, Part I.

<sup>253</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

*To Return*—Agent, James Guillespie

Michael Tenisin

Roberto Timpleton

Merchandise: 89 barrels of flour.

1 box candles.

NATCHEZ, *June 2, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Report of the family which Ephraim Hubbard brought from the province of Virginia to settle in this district.

Ephraim Hubbard, his wife and 9 children

10 Negroes

Plantation tools.

NATCHEZ, *June 3, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Report of the people and merchandise which two flatboats, belonging to Don Francisco Jacobo, have brought from Fort Pitt and which arrived at this post today.

Agent, James Blon, to return.

*Employees to settle.*

Daniel Fields

Felipe Fields

Juan Tomas, his wife and one son

Christopher Smith.

Mathew Lyon

Georges Jacobo

*To return.*

Jph. Young

Patrick Culaohen

Patrick Wound

George

A servant.

*Cargo*—177 barrels of flour.

NATCHEZ, *June 7, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*June 15, 1790* <sup>254</sup>

No. 56.

I send Your Lordship herewith copy of the letters that I have just received from the Señor Governor of the province of Texas regarding the false and vicious information given him last year about

<sup>254</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

traders from this post going among the Indian tribes of that province. Your Lordship is aware of the matter from the documents that I have sent you with letter No. 35. dated February 28, this year; and from these copies Your Lordship will see that I have received the satisfaction that I deserve from that government, on account of the good harmony and co-operation which are the objects to which I direct my efforts for the best service of the King.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *June 15, 1790.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

CAMPO DE ALANGE TO GOVERNOR OF HAVANA

*June 19, 1790* <sup>255</sup>

His Majesty, has taken note of what Your Lordship represents in letter of March 5, last, No. 17, about the congress held between the commissioners of the Talapoosa Indians and those of the American states, which broke up without having made any treaty of peace, and which may result in hostilities being resumed. He has been pleased to approve the reply made by Your Lordship and the instruction you have given to the governor of Louisiana about making an effort to renew the congress on account of its being of interest to us that they arrange their differences. In case this is not possible, he is to aid the Indians with arms and munitions in accordance with what was decided on this matter, and with the prudence and precautions that are required and that have been anticipated.

He shall furnish the mestizo MacGillivray immediately the goods he requested for presents to the Indians who accompanied him to the congress.

I so advise Your Lordship for your information and guidance.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 19, 1790.*

EL CONDE DEL CAMPO DE ALANGE (Rubric)

Señor Governor of Havana.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*June 22, 1790* <sup>256</sup>

I send Your Lordship herewith a statement showing the persons and goods on six flatboats that arrived at this post from Kentucky.

<sup>255</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1431.

<sup>256</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *June 22, 1790.*°

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Statement of the six flatboats that have just arrived at this post today, date as below, from the United States, listing the persons and goods carried, to wit:

*First boat—from the Ohio—named the Nancy.*

Owner—Samuel Forman, to settle.

Ditto Ezek Forman, resident here.

*Employees to return.*

Juan Books  
William Carroll  
Frederico Wishant

*Cargo*

10 casks of tobacco.  
6 barrels ditto  
120 pounds of iron bars.  
2 kegs of lard  
106 beaver skins  
4 otter skins  
9 fox skins  
25 ditto of wildcat.  
All of which was landed at this post.

*Second boat—from Kentucky.*

Owner—Thomas January, returning.

Passenger, James Pringle, ditto.

*Employees*

William Mitchel  
Jacobo Goll  
Juan McKey

*Cargo*

27 casks of tobacco.  
12 barrels of flour.  
8 saddles  
2000 pounds of hemp.  
18 otter skins.  
4 fox skins  
All destined for that capital.

*Third boat—from Kentucky.*

Owner, Elisha Winters—to settle.

Ditto, Samuel Shannon—to return.

*Employees to return.*

William Davis

John Galo

*Cargo belonging to the first owner*

6500 pounds of hemp.

75 barrels of cornmeal.

150 pounds of cast iron pots.

15 bear skins.

2 casks of tobacco.

*Belonging to the second.*

21 barrels of cornmeal.

2 ditto of white flour.

1 barrel of pork lard.

1 cask of tobacco.

6500 pounds of hemp.

All destined for that capital.

*Fourth boat—from Kentucky.*

Owner, Daniel Ganos Flatt, returning.

*Employees*

Daniel Ganos, returning.

Daniel Goud, ditto.

Eusebio Bushnell, to settle.

John Gullion, ditto.

Andrew Murphy, returning.

*Cargo*

Belonging to General Wilinon

9 casks of tobacco.

13 ditto

1 ditto

2 saddles.

75 pesos in skins.

14 barrels of white flour.

16 ditto of cornmeal.

Destined for that capital.

*Fifth and sixth boat from the District of Kentucky, consigned to Mr. Oliver Pollock.*

Owner, Andrew Bayard, returning.

*Employees to return.*

William Stewart  
 Charles Meale  
 John Tomas  
 George Chipple  
 Alexandro McGradey  
 George Aldridge  
 Doogan McKinzey  
 Joshia Jones  
 Stephen Shipman, to settle.

*Cargo—destined for that capital.*

72 casks of tobacco  
 6 kegs and one barrel of pork lard  
 1 barrel of whiskey  
 25 bear skins  
 8 beaver skins.

NATCHEZ, *June 19, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

BRUIN TO MIRÓ AND GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*June 27, 1790*<sup>257</sup>

CASTLE BRUIN, *27<sup>th</sup>. June 1790*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIES: The inclosed Letters came to hand last evening. I considered the nature and tendency of them to be of such importance to Government, that I felt it my duty, to transmit them immediately by an express, to M<sup>r</sup>. Grandpree, in order, that they might be by him forwarded to your Excellencies; There is no part of those papers, will require any comment from me, excepting that part, which relates to my Father, and which He has fully enabled me, to explain to your Excellencies.

Understanding on his Rout through America, that some designs were forming by some leading Characters in y<sup>e</sup> Southern States, against the Spanish Interest, in this Province, which He was anxious to apprise Government of, He found it necessary, (in order, to become compleately Master of their intentions) to pretend to favor the views of those Gentlemen, This will account for the manner, in which, He is mentioned in those Letters. But your Excellencies may rest assured, that immediately on being possessed of the necessary information, He sat out from Charlestown to St. Augustine, from whence, He intends to [go to] New Orleans, (if not already arrived,) by way of Pensacola; or the Havannah, (as opportunities of a Passage may

<sup>257</sup> BL, (English).

offer,) for the express purpose, of laying their whole Plan before you. And least Death or Sickness might possibly prevent his getting round in time, to give this necessary information, He prevailed on Major Washington, (one of the Principals in this Business,) to write me on this Subject, that I might have it in my power, at all events to warn Government of their Designs. This is a true and candid acct. of his Agency in this Business. I beg on his Arrival, which [I expect to] hear every moment of, that your Excellencies will be pleased, to treat him with tenderness and respect; You will find him in time, worthy of your Patronage and both willing and capable of serving Government.—

I have only to add, that as my Conduct as a Subject, will ever be regulated and governed, by the Instructions and orders I may receive from Your Excellencies, that you will please to honor me with your Commands, and in the mean time, that you will do me the justice to believe, that I am with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellencie's obedient & very humble Servt.

BRY. BRUIN (Rubric)

Their Excellencies The Governor's MIRÓ & GAYOSO.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*June 28, 1790*<sup>258</sup>

On the date of the 27th of the current month Don Peter Bryan Bruin sent me from Bayou Pierre by express messenger the enclosed paper, which he tells me contains the detailed account of the new claims of the Americans upon this territory of Natchez. Their agent ought to arrive here in some days. For this reason I am sending the corporal of my company, Miguel Martínez, who is entrusted with this paper, in order not to delay in informing you of its contents which will not be known to you until then. Although these reports have been going about for some time now I have not been able to give them any credit.

God keep your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *June 28, 1790*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*June 28, 1790*<sup>259</sup>

I enclose for Your Lordship a report of the individuals recently arrived from North America and goods they have brought on a

<sup>258</sup> BL.

<sup>259</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

flatboat of their own with the indication of those who are settling and those who return.

May God protect you many years.

NATCHEZ, *June 28, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

Report of the individuals and goods which arrived in this town, coming from Kentucky in a flatboat.

Principal owners—D. Walter Beare; is settled.

Mathia Ambrose—goes back.

William Barr—goes back.

Frederico Mantle—goes back.

*Passengers for settling.*

James Terry, wife and five children.

Jacobo Huffman, wife and three children.

Two Negroes and one female Negro.

*Employees.*

James Thomehenry

William Germi

Miguel Raymir

*Cargo of the first owner.*

One thousand pounds of ham.

Thirty-six casks of tobacco.

Eight casks of tobacco—wet.

Six barrels of whiskey.

*Second owner.*

Eight casks of tobacco.

Ten saddles.

One barrel of whiskey.

Six mill stones.

*Third owner.*

Three barrels of meat.

*Fourth.*

Some tobacco in a cask, which had been in the water.

A barrel with 250 pounds of ham.

NATCHEZ, *June 28, 1790.*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)



## O'FALLON TO MIRÓ

*July 16, 1790*<sup>260</sup>LIXINGTON *July the 16<sup>th</sup> 1790.*

SIR: 1—The purport of a Paragraph (as touching the Grant of Territory lately made to the *South Carolina Yazou Company*, by the State of Georgia) which our mutual friend, General Wilkinson, had been pleased to impart to me, from a letter addressed to him by your Excellency, datted New Orleans the first of April ult<sup>o</sup>. induces me, at this time, to have submitted with unfeigned deference, and as the solid votary of your Excellency and your Country a few cursory observations on the Subject of that Company's Grant & intended Colony in the near vicinity of your Excellency's Government; observations naturally arising to my view, from the tenor of that Paragraph, observations which perhaps, it may not prove unimportant for your Excellency, to know, antecedent to my arrival before the presence of your Excellency—, observations, the mention of which did not occur to me, in my former communications to your Excellency—

2—My late letter to your Excellency, by Mr. Nowlan, must, I fondly hope, remove from y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's mind, every apprehension and doubt, respecting the *use* which my constituents, the Grantees of said Territory mean to make of their Grant, *in favor of the Spanish nation*—; if that nation will but *amicably* accord with their terms & fixed purpose of planting a formidable Colony, *immediately* within their grant, and on your borders *for the mutual benefit of your Excellency's Government and their's, exclusively*, such as I have, in that letter (and as the documents I am charged with more authentically set forth) intimated to your Excellency. Those terms (unexampld in the offers of so numerous, respectable & opulent a group of American Gentlemen, to your nation, and so politically & commercially interesting, withal, to your Excellency's Government, circumstanced as affairs, now stand within the Pale of this confederacy, but, more particularly, throughout the range of the disaffected Western Territory & with the other two Companys the *Virginian & Yazou*, and the *Tenassee* Company just about to plant their Colonys, in force, above and back ours) these terms, I say, are, as yet kept a *profound Secret* with the company, ought therefore, to be inviolably retained, as such, on the part of your Excellency & Government, for some time, & have only been disclosed to my friend, the General, whom I have known, through my early correspondence with many diplomatic Characters of y<sup>r</sup>. nation, to

<sup>260</sup> BL, (English).

be the stern advocate of Spain, and to have united only in our Company's views of Settlement, & on the principal of *its becomming detached from this union of its close alliance with Spain*, and of its agreeing to have continued, persistingly a *Barrier of impregnable defence to your Excellency's Province*, on the condition of receiving, at your Governments hands, *certain privileges of trade*, and *protectionary succours*, if needed, It is to stipulate for these, as well as, to have consented the great Edifice of perpetual Union, between the Company's Colony and y<sup>r</sup>. August Nation, that I have been (because the avowed friend of Spain) *extensively* commissioned, and *secretly* charged, to negotiate with your Excellency, and personally to wait upon you, at New Orleans, with letters from the Company—previous to any other stepp's being taken in the business of the Settlement: in as much as, the Company are, in the first instance, resolved to progress in no instance in their Colonizing plan; but with the most cordial mutuality of communication between your Excellency and their Agent, as acting for them, and with your Excellency's full *consent & approbation*.

3—It is, may it please y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency, on these terms, *of closely uniting with Spain*, that I condescended to accept of the Commission with which I am now invested, of *Agent General* for the Company in & over all their affairs, *on this side of the great mountains*, and particularly of settling, and immediately superintending, *on the Spot*, the Oeconomy of the Colony; and it is in this view alone, (of uniting it, and the whole of the Western Country, if I can, to the interests of Spain) that I shall condescend to act under the Commission. On any terms, foreign to this, I have, originally informed my present constituents; that I would resign it: for I have to assure your Excellency, that it was through my means & influence, and through the policy which I have urged them to the adoption of, with Spain, that (*antifederalists* tho' they all be) they have *unanimously* fallen in with this plan, of *Uniting with the Spaniards*. It will depend, at this time, on the pleasure & conduct of your Excellency, in *how far*, and *in how much* my past *fixed* purpose, of essentially serving the Spanish Crown, can be realized, & substantiated.

4—If disappointed, in my ardent views of promoting the interests of his Catholic Majesty, under the public Character which, for that and alone, I have assumed—; I have only to pledge myself, *most Solemnly* to your Excellency, that (as I have long since, devoted myself, in terms the most unequivocal to the Service of your Nation, from principle, and because I have been *hereditarily* taught to venerate a great, generous, & sincere People, from whose blood I am sprung—and in whose cause my progenitors have bled, my nation has

bled, as Spaniards have bled for them, that I say, I shall never (let what may afterwards happen) act *unfriendly* to Spain, & that, rather than *force* the numerous Colony which is intended, into your Excellency's neighbourhood, should the Company be driven to this alternative of *force*—I have *positively* determined, to abdicate my charge, and at once, to relinquish my Agency.

5—But I trust that as *matters stand*, no impediments need be thrown in the way of the Companys friendly designs, and that full scope of promoting what I think a vital interest to Spain, shall be given to my fervent wishes.

6—Professing as I do, and solemnly announcing, as I shall act; it would ill become me (charged as I am with the company's confidence, and confidentially as the Company mean to treat, at this period with your Excellency), to conceal from your Excellency that, which, in case of your rejecting their present overtures of *union*, the Company will, eventually, terminate in the decided resolution of.

7—I will resign, as I said: nor in case of Hostility, would they trust me with the *general Agency*; and an Agent of a *less friendly* stamp *towards you*, will be appointed. On this Gentleman will rest the incumbency of planting their Colony, *in force* and being amply provided for *repulses*; should assailment originate from *your* sides, or from that of the *Indians*. The Colony, is (in its first establishment) to move on, from the two Carolinas, from Georgia, & from Franklin, to am<sup>t</sup>. of, from three to five thousand well armed Men, without the incumbrance of Females, or Children. This number, let me assure your Excellency, is, at the least, already engaged by the Company, under *penal bounds of performance* each man; and this number will arrive, *at once*, and may now be made your nation's firm friends, if your Excellency will but chuse it. I have not reckoned on those which may move, out of this District, into the Company's Grant, for want of Lands,—nor on the collateral strength of accessionary force, which in case of need, the two other companys must, with their equally, perhaps, as numerous Settlers, occasionally afford them—; the two having agreed, in case of *assault* from Spaniards or Indians, to act unitedly, and as if *in one Common cause* with the *South Carolina Yazou Company*.

8—They are to meet at the Long Island of Holston, where Boats will be prepared, to have them, (with small arms & ammunition, Wall, & field Artillery for *defence*, Goods & Provisions) carried down by the Tenassee, Ohio & Missisipy, to the Spot; which will be on the Yazou at first—, clear of the old Line of West Florida, but on its Margin; so that, should any attack be made upon them, in that acknowledged Spot of *rightful* possession; the three most Southern States, from whence the Colonists have come, and in which the Gentle-

men of the three Company's bear greatest sway) must insist on *federal aid & protection*. This the Congress *dare* not, from the terms of the constitution, refuse them, *in such circumstance*. In such circumstances, the old claims about *territorial boundaries*, and the diplomatic right of *freely navigating the Mississippi* must again be ushered into view, before the federal Houses—, and the *Kentucky men*, and the *Frankliners* now galled under the pressure of Commercial regulations, at New Orleans, would most cheerfully conspire, to bring all those ancient disputes to an issue, on principles of *Self-interest*.

9—But if, on the other hand, the terms of *union* now offered by the South Carolina Yazou Company be *properly* embraced & acced<sup>d</sup>. to—; all this trouble will be everlastingly precluded—; Louisiana will have a robust Ally of Americans, independent among themselves, like *Vermont*, or *Rhode Island* for its Barrier; and, from the Commercial favours which the Crown of Spain may be known, to have extended to this Colony, *in particular*, those of the other two Companys, in the vicinity, will inevitably be led to have merited the like; and the people of *Kentucky*, *Franklin & Cumberland* must, in their own defence, be induced, to have followed their example, and the whole to confederate among themselves, in the & under the protection of his Majesty. It is a fact well known, and acknowledged throughout the whole of this *Western Country* (and Nations, like Individuals, are always, eventually, led by their Interests): that the Inhabitants thereof, can derive no *Commercial* or *political* advantage whatever, by their being Subjected to *Congressional Supremacy* placed in the *Atlantic States*; and that their *last hope* of ever rising into any consequence, as a people, must be founded, on confederating, independently, among themselves, on the basis of a *Separate* Sovereignty from that of the present Congress and, on the Stipulation of a general Market or *free trade* at New Orleans, for their productions, firmly to coalesce, as sincere Allies, with that European power, who shall hold it.

10—No other opportunity of the kind, after this, will, in all human probability, ever offer, nor so fair a one, for effecting, *eventually* great things in favour of the commerce, navy & revenues of his Majesty—and in favour of the territorial security & strength of his trans-Atlantic Dominions,—I trust therefore, that your Excellency will not let it slip out of your hands,—and that an event of such importance to the Crown you have, hitherto, so distinguishedly served, (as it appears to me) shall hereafter intitle the Era of Miró's administration & reign, to be marked, on the Historic Page, as something transcendent, and in the exaration of *Golden Capitals*.

11—Be the event, as it may, no doubt remains with me; but that the Company will, at *all events*, push forward their Settlement, with

*System, precaution & force*; as I now had the honor of relating to your Excellency, with that undissembled candour, and purity of opinion, which, in communicating with your Excellency, in particular, it is my wish to be characterized by. The three Companies will begin nearly, at one time; but the other two entertain, *as yet*, no idea, of coalescing, or uniting themselves, in one common interest with the Spaniards. This proceeding, in the Company, I represent, originated with me; as did the utter exclusion of Governor Hastings, & some other Englishmen of ministerial influence. The Company consists of Gentlemen of great fortune & reputation, highly connected, and by their dependants posts, and Grants of Lands to characters of weight and of the same *antifederal* principles with themselves, forming a chain of mighty interest from New York, from the very midst of Congress itself to East Florida and from the Atlantic Ocean to this District. Besides this, the formidable influence of the *Virginia Company*, as well as that of the *Tenassee* is in union with this of the *S<sup>c</sup>. Carolina Yazou Company*. The late *miserable fate* of a proposal made to Congress, by a few of the present federal Ministers against the Grants of Georgia to the three Companys is a pregnant proof of this. The Minister's proposals were spurned at, on *constitutional* principles, by both Houses—& indignantly rejected. It was the opinion of Congress, that in so critical a period of their Government as this is, to question the *chartered* territorial rights of Georgia, after having acknowledged this right, so repeatedly, by Congress's *soliciting* that state's cession of a part of it would be to draw a Hornet's nest about their Ears—, would be to question the *Chartered* territorial rights of every State, possessed of Western territory, a right so expressly secured to them by *three* unequivocal clauses in the constitution—would be, in fine, to irritate all those States to a junction with Georgia, in making one common cause against this vital infraction of the new League, first attempted, by that federal Head, who existed by, & ought therefore to support it.

12—The Gentlemen of the Company I act for, on soliciting their present Grant, did not conceive, that the claims, of y<sup>r</sup>. Crown extended farther *north* on the Missisipi, than the mouth of *Coles Creek*, where the old boundary of the *Natchy District* had terminated on that side. It was in this opinion of *them*, and of the *Georgia Legislature*; that their grant had been protracted so far *Southerly*, from Latitude 33°, (their *northern* boundary) to that Creek. They had no conception, that the Spanish Court could have extended its claims, (where it now extends them) to the *Southern* point of the Yazou mouth, at its conflux with the Missisipy. I trust however, that the Nature of the Company's Settlement, on your borders, will be such, as to preclude all altercation, on the Score of *territorial boundaries*,

and as to obtain every *influence*, within your Excellency's authority, with the Indians, that will mollify, & reconcile them to the Company's *peaceable* settlement. Nothing shall be wanting, on my part, and during my Incumbency over the colony, to meet their & your Excellency's warmest wishes. But determined, as the Company is, to act separately from the government of this Union, it is resolved (I well know) that their Colony shall arrive on the Ground, in *numbers* which will be paramount to any *Savage* Hostility—or to any obtrusion of a garrisoned force, *from Congress*—and amply furnished with every *defensive* Implement; for they mean not to become *aggressors*.

13—The Company's Plan of Colonial Settlement will be so adjusted; as to concentrate the Colonists, by Companies, into Military Townships of 100 fighting, in each, and adjacent, the one to the other, to guard against Danger: These will be annexed to Battallions—, Battallions to Brigades, and the whole subject to a very rigid militia discipline. There will likewise, be an apportionment of 3 Companies of light armed Cavalry, and 400 Infantry, *always* on duty for the first 18 Months, as a *standing force* in constant readiness—, all which the company will maintain for *that time*, and for this service, will interest these Troops in the protection of the Colony and of their own rights, by grants of 200 acres of Land to each Private, 300 to an Ensign or Cornet, 400 to a Lieutenant—500 to a Capt<sup>n</sup>. 550 to a Major, 600 to the Colonel who is to Command, for the time, the whole of this standing body.

14—The *Virginia Yazou*, and the *Tennessee Company's*, have for their Settlements, adapted the same defensive System. The three Company's mean to have a *standing* force of about 1500 Men—not to mention the Militia.

15—Thus far have I freely, & with the utmost candour, imparted to your Excellency, the outlines of the Company's wishes, designs & system of settlement—in proof of my Integrity, and of the *explicit*, and *unreserved* line of regard, which my heartfelt devotion towards your Excellency's person & nation, as well as the Natural frankness of my temper, incline me to adopt, as the better kind of policy, where, *friendship*, *honor* & truth, ought on both sides, to be the pillars of negociation. From principles as well as from a rooted attachment to the Spanish cause, equally with that of myself, and the company I actually represent before y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency; I could by no means descend to the crooked Policy of those, who in the winding Labyrinths of a wiley craft, study to conceal their Sinister intentions. Mine, such as they are, are honestly unfolded before your Excellency's full view, for discussion & scrutiny. When in the presence of your Excellency, I trust I shall bear before you, sentiments of real attachment, uprightness, & honor—if not of Wisdom the most consummate.

16—I must certainly avow: that as to my own Fortune, I am deeply interested in the success of the Company's negociation with your Excellency—; in as much as, I am one of the 20 Proprietors—, but lately taken in by the *four original ones*. But as I only accepted of the Propriety right, as well as of the General Agency in the view already mentioned, and thereby declined a long-protracted negociation which I had with y<sup>r</sup>. Minister & Court, on the Subject of planting 10,000 families in East Florida, for his Majesty—; I cherish some ambition, I freely confess, of becoming even in this way, *more instrumental*, to the well being & glory of y<sup>r</sup>. nation. Will your Excellency then, suffer me to be so? or will your Excellency mar the noble, the public spirited designs I am come on, and am still farther to advance, through pathless & difficult Mountains; thro' a howling Wilderness of 200 Miles, infected by *hostile Hords* of Savages—& through a perillous, & irksome River-navigation of near 1,800 Miles, which is yet before me? or surely, by inducing me to resign, as I said—, your Excellency will not wish to throw my present powers, from the hands of a devoted friend, into those of a Foe, by his superceding me (what certainly would be the case) in the General Agency! The change may bring a *Firebrand* to your Door—, which however effectually you may be enabled to circumscribe its blaze for a time, may at length throw such a spark into the combustibles which daily accumulate within the Bowells of these States, as would eventually plunge this Empire & your's into a general combustion. Of this, however, I can assure your Excellency, that supposing the proffered Union shall take place, no agent will ever be appointed by the Company; but one who will stand in perfect unison with your Government—, nor is his reign to continue longer, than untill a Government can be organized within the Colony—so as to become the first separate & independent State in the Western territory—, & in close alliance with, and under the protection of your Sovereign.

17—All this I am clearly confident I can be instrumental in bringing about, with the aid of our mutual friend, General Wilkinson—; if your Excellency will but smile on our Efforts. The chief blame will, by Congress be laid on the *first Agent*: but I have no favours to ask; and long since got disgusted with their Government. Yet it will be political, in the view of our designs, to keep the matter *Secret*, untill the Colony & Company shall be ripe, openly announce their separation from this Confedracy, and *formally* to inter into the proposed connexion with your Government.

18—As my *public & ostensible* Character may, (among those in New Orleans who know not the friendly nature of my Mission to y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency) subject my person to insult, or invidiousness—; it

will become exceedingly satisfactory to my Mind, however remote all danger may, in fact, be; that your Excellency be pleased to have transmitted a *Suitable Passport* for me, under cover to Col. Bruin, on whom I purpose to call, in my passage to your Excellency. This will exceedingly oblige me.

19—Our good friend, the General, is at this time, in his own town of Frankfort bussily occupied in making his third Shipment of Tobacco for the Season, convinced of his fidelity to the *common cause*—, it became me finally, to have disclosed my heart to him. He is an acquisition in the business, and high in the Company's confidence. From him therefore, I have not concealed a single Secret. With distinguished devotion towards your Excellency, I have most unfeignedly, to assure you that I am—

Your Excellency's Most obedient and very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES O FALLON

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Ag<sup>t</sup>. for the South  
Carol<sup>a</sup>. Yazou Company—

His Excellency STEPHEN MIRO Esq<sup>r</sup>.

This is a corrected copy of the original which was sent to General Wilkinson in the letter of Don Estevan Miró dated January 25, 1792.

ANDRÉS ARMESTO (Rubric)

#### INDIAN COUNCIL HELD AT NEW MADRID

*July 30, 1790* <sup>261</sup>

Council held with two Abenaki chiefs accompanied by twenty of their warriors, ten Shawnees, two Chickasaws, one Choctaw and several Ottawas.

#### *Abenakis to the Commandant.*

1st. Father, the sickness of our king has caused us to come in his behalf and inform you of the news brought to us by two messengers of our nation who still reside in the district of Detroit under the protection of the English.

#### *Messenger*

2nd. Brothers and countrymen, we are well-off with the English, who always give us everything necessary and treat us like brothers and sons, but the separation from you, which it appears will be for a long time, determines us to send to you these words, transmitted to us by our father, the great chief of Montreal, who says:

"Brothers, up to what point have you lost your judgment in your determination to go to a strange country among whites unknown



to you? For the Spaniards are a very bad people upon whom nobody can rely and they are bad friends. How can it be that today with the sun shining brightly, you are so blind that you cannot see the long road on which you are setting out and the load of iron that you will afterward carry? So, brothers, remain with us, and you will always enjoy the protection of our flag and the generosity and humanity with which you have always been treated by our great chief the king."

Nevertheless we will join you, according to the reply that you give us of your well-being with the Spaniards. You will make this known to your father and request his protection and his permission that we may settle and hunt on his lands. Although the great captain of the Americans sent us a message to come to their lands, to which they would also call you, we would prefer to go with the Spaniards, and we wait the answer which we beg that you will send to us as soon as possible.

*Statement of Abenakis to the Commandant*

3rd. We shall tell you, father, that these things were communicated to us by our king to carry to you, with the order to inform you also of the commission he gave to us for the Chickasaws, in order to inform you of everything and bring back your reply in which he will be pleased to learn your thought on these matters. The risks that we run every day of being killed by our friends through mistake caused our king to take the resolution of sending us to the Chickasaws to carry these words, which we are going to repeat to them.

*Abenakis to the Chickasaws*

4th. Sons, we come from our king to make known to you his intentions. These are to bring about peace between you and the other nations with whom you are at war, for it causes disagreements every day between you and other nations who only think of enjoying peace. In order to avoid misunderstandings he urges you to discuss peace with your enemies, the Kickapoos and Piankashaws, for we know that the latter desire it. Finally, we came to learn your reply on this matter. You probably know that the Spaniards are establishing a fort at L'Anse à la Graisse with which we are well-pleased, for it assures us peace with the Americans, who are always disturbing us in every manner, and from now on we shall enjoy quiet.

*Chickasaws to the Abenakis*

5th. We do not hold it to be certain that the Kickapoos and Piankashaws wish to treat of peace with us. It is not a thing upon which we can count with certainty, notwithstanding that the intention is

good; but we shall see. One chief in particular said, "I will go out with my party and I will kill everybody that I encounter, Spanish as well as French."

*Abenakis to the Commandant.*

6th. The Chickasaws heard our commission without paying much attention to the peace; but if they wish to make fools of themselves, let them settle it.

Father, we have nothing more to say to you on this subject, because we must fulfill our commission and inform the king of these words (showing me the string of mixed black and red beads, which is a bad sign among them). Now we have nothing to do but to ask for your reply to take to our great chief who is waiting for us every day.

*Reply of the Commandant.*

My sons, I shall consult tonight with the Master of Life, and at eight tomorrow I shall give you my reply for your satisfaction, that of the king, my brother, and my own in particular, making known to my sons the pleasure I have had in hearing them to-day.

*Commandant to the Abenakis*

1st. Sons, I am very sorry that your king, my brother, is ill, for that takes away from me the satisfaction of making him hear the words of my heart which I am going to repeat to you, as you are commissioned on your part to hear it. I draw the conclusion from this that you are chiefs of trust and merit who will fulfill your commission like faithful friends of mine.

2nd. Friends, I am not going to detain you very long, for the Spaniards speak little; but you can count upon it that what I am going to tell you is true, and your fathers the Spaniards will tell you this wherever you may see them, for we are not the kind of fathers who tell as many lies as, for instance, the English. You know very well that a man who talks too much always lies, but with us you will find sincerity in our hearts, tranquillity, peace, trade, hunting, and free roads from one post to another without encountering enemies on them. On the contrary, if you meet red men, they will be friends, if Frenchmen, they are my sons the same as you, or if some old *bastones*, they are Spaniards and my sons. Once you set foot on my land I will defend you from your enemies if any present themselves, and I will also chastise any of my sons, white or red, if among them they do harm to one another. If you have any complaint to make against the whites, come to your father, who will do you justice. If you hear any report that disturbs you, come and

tell me about it and you will see that your father will receive you and listen to you always with pleasure, seeking on every occasion for the satisfaction and tranquillity of my sons, because of the recommendation given to me of them by our great captain of New Orleans.

3rd. As to your countrymen who may wish to come and settle with us, tell them they may come, sure to find a father who will always give them good advice, endeavoring to secure their tranquillity, the same as you have experienced since you have been established in this district. What I wish is that you should place your villages five or six leagues from me so that your animals will not get mixed up with those of my white sons and cause any reasons for complaint. I wish to repeat to you that the *bastones* who come to ask permission to remain with us are Spaniards from the time when they set foot on my lands, and you must regard them as friends, as we all are, and if any one tries to ill-treat them, or they any others, I will punish them as they deserve, for in the end we are all Spaniards. You may immediately despatch the messenger to our friends, telling them that their father will receive them with open arms, and they will enjoy the perfect tranquillity that always reigns among us, which we desire solely for the well-being of our sons.

4th. Although we always speak of tranquillity and peace, you may believe that it is not for ourselves, but solely for our white and red sons, so that they may visit each other, carry on their trade, and take good care of their wives and children; but we know how to make war as well as any nation, and when any nation wishes it or looks for it we are always ready.

5th. My word is certain, you may always count upon it, that the Americans who are united with us are those who look for peace and good fathers, and consequently they are good friends, but if any of them bring bad words to you or threaten you, bring them to me, and you will see how I manage bad men.

6th. I have nothing more to recommend to you, unless it is that, as two or three leagues from here there are some of my sons, if they ask you what we have heard, you may tell them it is the certain promise of our father. (A cannon shot, while I stand up and take off my hat). Here is my promise, which corresponds to the intentions of our great captain of New Orleans, whom I will inform of the joy which I have had today in seeing for the first time a certain number of my sons.

NEW MADRID, *July 30, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

CHIEF MANANTILLATTE

CHIEF OUCHIUANSI.

## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*July 31, 1790*<sup>262</sup>

Attached Your Lordship will find a statement of three flatboats which arrived at this post from Kentucky, bound for your capital, with a list of cargo carried and the persons manning same.

May God etc.

NATCHEZ, *July 31, 1790*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ

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Statement of three flatboats that arrived at this post today, date as below, from Kentucky, with a list of their cargo and the persons manning them, to wit:

Master of the three boats—Joseph Balburgh.

*Employees who are returning.*

Thomas Hopkins	Michael Feler	William Buckin
Seth Salsbery	George Cooper	William Canghal
Lackin Albott	Andres Miger	Carlos Morea
Joseph Gale	Archibald Price	
James Wilson	Jacob Sprangle	<i>Negroes:</i>
William Thomas	James Walker	Juniper and
Jacob Moller	James Clark	Charles

*Cargo.*

80 Casks of tobacco in two flatboats, 40 each.

36 ditto in the other boat, making a total of 116 casks,  
being taken to your capital.

NATCHEZ, *July 31, 1790*

GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

DELINO TO MIRÓ

*August 2, 1790*<sup>263</sup>

No. 7.

In compliance with Your Lordship's letter dated May 26, last, I have summoned the chiefs and headmen of the three villages of this Arkansas tribe, to whom I have communicated Your Lordship's desire of seeing all the tribes at peace; and have asked them what reason they had for preventing the Miami and Kaskaskia tribes from passing through their country to go to settle in the Ouachita district. They replied that this was not correct, but rather that, far from doing

<sup>262</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>263</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

them any harm, they had received them into their villages, giving them everything they needed. They said they never had the slightest difficulty with them. Moreover, they said that they were never guided by their own ideas in matters of this nature, and that they never did anything without its having been dictated by the commandant of this post. This took place in the presence of Captain Don Josef Valliere, who certified to the truth of all the foregoing. This I report to Your Lordship in reply to your letter abovementioned.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

FORT CARLOS III OF ARKANSAS, *August 2, 1790.*

IGNACIO DELINO (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*August 6, 1790*<sup>264</sup>

No. 145.

I take note from Your Lordship's letter, dated May 10, that the hunters of Arkansas have again requested that they be given ammunition, so that with the aid of the Arkansas tribe they may go to attack the Great Osage for having continued to inflict on them various vexations, despoiling them of their hunting. In view of the stubbornness of the Osage, I think that nothing is more advisable than for the Arkansas to make war on them, as I believe this is the only tribe that the Osage fear. At the same time the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas are determined to do so themselves this autumn, as they have so promised me; and I shall give them what assistance I can without exposing these inhabitants. At the same time I shall deprive the Great and Little Osage of all aid by strictly prohibiting, as Your Lordship instructs me, every kind of commerce and trade with the two said tribes. For this purpose I had the traders who were among those tribes return a month ago; and La Badia on his arrival at St. Louis reported to me that he was short one of his men, who had been killed in the tribe. He had not been able to ascertain which one of the two tribes had killed him, on account of his having been found far from the camp, which he had left to go to cut some bark of trees. He was found shot through the body by a gun.

Even if I had not received Your Lordship's order, I should never have permitted anyone to go to trade with the two said tribes of Osage, until they give full satisfaction; and I shall take all steps possible to see to it that they do not have the slightest assistance from any

quarter until they confess their perfidy and give full satisfaction for all the misdeeds and robberies they have committed.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

St. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 6, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*August 9, 1790* <sup>265</sup>

No. 55.

On the 26th ultimo there arrived here a lieutenant of the American troops with ten of his men, among them two wounded. Before disembarking, he wrote me a letter asking me for food and protection, which I gladly gave him, in view of Your Lordship's approval, expressed in letter of May 3, last.

The said lieutenant had been dispatched by Major Daughy and General Harmar to come to the mouth of the Cherokee River, where he was to meet a number of Chickasaws, for whom he had brought a small present, and then go to Post Vincennes to relieve another officer. It was a good thing that his mission was delayed a little before the delivery of the present, because the Chickasaws who received the said present told him that, if he had arrived four or five days before, they would all have been killed by the Cherokees and the Talapoosas, who had stayed eight days at the place for this purpose; but seeing that he did not arrive, they departed, saying that the promise of the Americans to the Chickasaws and some of the Choctaws, who were also on their side, was a lie. When he left them to continue his journey, the chief of the Chickasaws gave him two men to accompany him as far as Post Vincennes. On the route an unfortunate boat of Vigo, after having escaped two times on the same journey, and believing itself to be quite safe, on account of being accompanied by a number of troops, failed to escape the third time. It was destroyed upon entering the Wabash River in company with them. When the party was some distance up this river, there appeared seven Indians of the Piankashaw tribe, at war with the Americans and the Chickasaws. They pretended to be friendly, giving their hands to both the one and the other, but the Chickasaws would not give theirs, merely grasping their arms above the elbow. They then withdrew with great politeness. At night, as they always did, they dragged the boats up onto the shore, being always suspicious and with good reason.

The next day the lieutenant took on board two men, whom he had

<sup>265</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

lent to the master of the Vigo's boat. He had them go on shore to reconnoitre, following the boats. At a very narrow and shallow place 100 or 150 Indians were waiting for them to pass. All seated in a circle, and confident that they would do so, they were waiting quietly to trap the boats in this channel; but upon being discovered by the two men, they began to shout and fire in all directions. The two soldiers who were in the woods fled into the water up to their waists to get into the boats; and while they were turning around to go back down the river, the American boat was hit, but lost only one man and three wounded. About 200 paces from them Vigo's boat was going down the river, when the Indians fell upon it with raised hatchets and their usual cries. Whereupon two or three of the boatmen threw themselves into the water without knowing where they were going, and this was the end of these poor unfortunates.

The American boat left this post for Kaskaskia the first of this month, after the loss of a sergeant, who died of fever. There is nothing else to report to Your Lordship on this matter.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *August 9, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MIRÓ TO PORLIER

*August 10, 1790* <sup>266</sup>

No. 41.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

Under date of February 18th last, Your Excellency advises me that according to royal order the Reverend Auxiliary Bishop had represented to His Majesty that, owing to the lack of a church and a place proportionate to the numerous citizenry of this city, some citizens have not been complying with the precept of hearing Mass since the old church was destroyed by the fire of the year 1788. He had also stated that, in order to prevent the spiritual ruin of the faithful, he had arranged, with my accord and favor, to have the Holy Sacrifice celebrated in a gallery of the government house and at other places in the city. As this temporary expedient should not be long continued, and as there was no hope of the success of the petition of Don Andrés Almonaster for a title of Castile, under which condition he had promised to build a new church at his own expense, he requests that he be allotted twelve thousand pesos of the property which belonged to this mission. He proposes to construct a parish church and rectory with this assistance and with the timbers promised

him by some citizens, also using the bricks from the wall of the old cemetery, as the construction of a new one had been approved.

Your Excellency is also pleased to advise me that the King has noted what I stated in my letter of June 3, 1789, regarding Almonaster's having laid the first brick of the church, with the usual formalities and without waiting for the success of his petition. As His Majesty subsequently decided that, first of all, Almonaster should assure his nobility, the property he possesses, and the part which he intends to entail, it is to be believed that he has not given up performing a service which might make him deserving of the dignity to which he aspires.

Your Excellency concludes that, as it is urgent to provide a remedy for a matter of such importance, the King desires me to report what is happening in this business, whether Almonaster is continuing the construction, how long it will take him to finish it, or whether he has gone back on his promise, whether this included the rectory, the necessity of this building, at whose expense it is to be built, and the measures proposed for both by the Reverend Bishop.

So, confining myself to the points on which I am commanded to report, I say to Your Excellency that a junta was held on March 22, 1788, as a result of the terrible fire in this city. In conjunction with the Intendant Don Martín Navarro I sent a copy of the proceedings to the Most Excellent Señor Don Antonio Valdes in representation No. 55, dated April 1st of the said year. It was stated in the fourth paragraph that Don Andrés Almonaster had promised to construct a new parish church of brick and wood, as large or larger than the one destroyed, and near by, a house suitable for lodging the reverend father vicar, the priest's assistants, and the chief sacristan.

Actually, as I stated in letter of June 3, 1789, No. 23, Almonaster laid the first brick of the parish church according to the plan I have submitted. He had the ruins which remained demolished, the refuse cleared away, the site enclosed, and prepared to begin the actual work. He did so on March 15th, this year, pursuing it with such vigor that at the present time the wall has reached a height of six feet above ground all around, with a thickness of five feet, and the columns of the naves fifteen in height; so that if he continues, it may be expected that three years from now, as the work cannot be carried on in the cold season, it will be entirely completed and the divine services may be held in it.

For my part, I have contributed to the wishes of the said Most Illustrious Bishop by giving him, besides the assistance which he mentions, the use of the building which served as the guard house of this post, and which has been adorned with great propriety, thus



entirely preventing the spiritual ruin which the said Most Illustrious Bishop feared.

Don Andrés Almonaster did not set any conditions in promising to construct the church and rectory, much less that of a title, as he thought to obtain this from the piety of the King for having constructed a very fine church for the Ursuline Nuns of this city, a leper hospital on his own land, which he gave, at a proper distance from the city. The latter had such a good effect that, since the death of the five lepers who were caught, no others have been seen in the province. He sought to obtain favor especially for having rebuilt the charity hospital and its church with a magnificence unusual in this country, provided it with Negro servants, twenty-four new beds and the necessary clothing for that many patients, and endowed it with the income from some houses yielding one thousand, five hundred pesos yearly.

These works and donations are calculated, without exaggeration, at the sum of one hundred and twelve thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight pesos, seven reales and a half, as I advised the late Señor Marqués de Sonora in representation No. 260. The income of the hospital was not sufficient on account of the recent fire having destroyed two of the houses, whose reconstruction I have proposed to Your Excellency in representation No. 19, to which I have had no reply. Continuing the charitable spirit he admits all the poor patients who present themselves, at times numbering seventy, so that the disbursements which he makes annually are considerable, as he is supporting the hospital until such time as His Majesty decides on the proposal I addressed to the late Marqués de Sonora in the said representation No. 260, and called to the attention of Your Excellency in No. 18, for which I beg Your Excellency to obtain royal approval.

With so much more reason Almonaster flattered himself that he would obtain some favor from His Majesty before promising the present church, inasmuch as royal order of May 30, 1786, addressed to the late Conde de Gálvez, instructed that he should ask for whatever favor he most desired.

Speaking with the sincerity demanded and with which I am ordered to report, I shall say that I have known his fervor to abate at times and I have seen it revive when his attorney informed him that the matter of his title had been discussed in the Council, and on another occasion when the *Contaduría General* made a favorable report. This vacillation resulted in his suspending the work after laying the first brick, removing the ruins of the old church and clearing the ground. Whereupon the *Ayuntamiento* wished to reprimand him strongly; but I, having prevented this indiscretion, which would have exasperated him, convinced him in such a manner by assisting

in his re-election as *Alcalde* this year, which I knew he desired in order to gain merit, that he again took up the work with great vigor. He promised me that he would continue it to completion, despite the flood which caused a break in the levee of the river on his lands, entailing the loss of his harvests, washing away his fences, and destroying a large brick kiln, which cannot be rebuilt for another month when the waters recede. For this reason he was on the point of suspending the work, but on my giving him the bricks of the wall of the old cemetery, as they are to be replaced by stakes, he is using them to continue the work. For this assistance, which saves him less than two hundred pesos, I beg Your Excellency to secure the approval of His Majesty.

I do not know how the Reverend Auxiliary Bishop can imagine that the church and rectory could be constructed for twelve thousand pesos, even with the donation of the timbers which he says have been promised him by some citizens. I know that they will not amount to one thousand pesos, as they are very cheap now because the lack of market which was experienced caused a fall of price.

The cost of the church being built by Don Andrés is estimated at seventy-two thousand, three hundred and fifty pesos and seven reales at the least, and I shall not be surprised if it costs him much more. Moreover, it has been long since I have heard him say anything to indicate that he intended to fulfill the second part of his promise, that is, to build the rectory; but I have not lost hope that he will do so, if he suffers no decline in his income, which consists principally in rents from houses.

Your Excellency will please inform me as to whether or not I should compel him to do so in case he refuses, in view of the formality with which he made the promise. However, if he had contented himself with building the church entirely of wood, instead of brick as he is now doing, he could have constructed both for less than seventy thousand pesos.

The rectory, needed to lodge the *religiosos* serving this parish, and where the Reverend Bishop planned to live as before, was built with the aid of a gift from the citizens here generally; but as they were badly hit by the fire which destroyed it, I fear that, in case Almonaster does not rebuilt it and the Reverend Bishop should solicit another gift from the parishioners, it would be very small. I hope that His Majesty will order that the balance be paid from the funds of the mission, which amount to three thousand and eighty-five pesos, six reales, with the provision that the cost of said rectory shall not exceed eight thousand pesos.

It remains for me only to say that Don Andrés has given up his petition for a title of Castile, having requested the post of Colonel

of the militia battalion of this city, which memorial I have submitted with recommendation to the Most Excellent Señor Frey Don Antonio Valdes in my representation No. 291.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 10, 1790.*

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO PORLIER.

PANTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENSACOLA

*August 13, 1790* <sup>267</sup>

Mr. Panton presents his respects to the Governor and is much obliged to him for his readiness to comply with his request in the loan of Gunpowder. As the Gunpowder is at the Fort, and the quantity wanted at present is but small, he will not trouble His Excellency untill the end of the month, when if no vessel arrives he will have occasion to solicit the loan of a considerable quantity because in that case he will be certain that something extraordinary has occasioned the detention of his vessel.—

Friday morning 13th August 90.

BARCELONA TO MIRÓ

*August 23, 1790* <sup>268</sup>

SEÑOR GOVERNOR INTENDANT: The repeated complaints, not only of the inhabitants but also of the commandants and parish priests of this province, relative to the management of the funds of the church building, impel me to formulate a plan which, in my opinion, will in the future settle and remedy the abuses which have been introduced. It seems to me (if Your Lordship agrees) that whenever it is necessary to appoint a steward, the people should be consulted, including with them for this purpose the respective commandants, and reporting to Your Lordship and to me the one who has met with their approval, in order that he may be sent the corresponding appointment, with the understanding that the people must be the guarantor of the said steward or other person, fully, completely, and reliably.

In all the parishes it should be commanded that there be made a strong box with three keys, one to be held by the commandant, another by the parish priest, and the other by the steward. The box, in my opinion, should be kept in the parish house, as all the meetings of the people are held on Sundays on leaving the high Mass, and it will thus be near at hand.

<sup>267</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

<sup>268</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

The steward shall not even be allowed to enter in his accounts what he has spent, without displaying the order in writing of the parish priest, with the exception of ordinary expenses, such as wax, bread for the service, oil for the lamp, pay of singers, and other officials of the service of the church. Whenever the accounts of the stewards are to be audited, I, so far as is incumbent upon me, shall name the parish priest who is to take them, and as regards Your Lordship as vice-patron, you will name the one whom you wish, and after the accounts have been approved, they shall be kept in the said house and a copy sent to us.

The stewards who are in office at the present time shall (if this meets with Your Lordship's approval and the people are willing) remain herein; but if the contrary is the case, this procedure shall be put into practice, if such be the will of Your Lordship. When you have advised me of your decision, I shall communicate it officially to the parish priests under my jurisdiction, so that it may be duly complied with.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 23, 1790.*

Señor Governor Intendant.

FRAY CYRILLO DE BARCELONA, BISHOP (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

SEÑOR GOVERNOR INTENDANT: With Your Lordship's letter of the 17th of this month of August I receive His Majesty's decree, given at Madrid on March 6, this year, regarding the collection of the ecclesiastical subsidy by the archbishops, bishops, viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors, intendants, and royal officials of the Indies in the part respectively concerning them. Although I do not consider that the ecclesiastics who, by orders of His Majesty, are administering the spiritual field of this colony with the enjoyment of the stipend that His Majesty allots them, are included in the said decree, I shall, whenever there are in this colony other ecclesiastics whom the aforesaid decree includes, co-operate in the part affecting me to see that it is complied with.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 21, 1790.*

FRAY CYRILLO DE BARCELONA,  
Bishop (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*September 2, 1790*<sup>269</sup>

No. 62.

The Indians of the Tawehash, Yscanis, Tawakoni, Hainai, and Nabadache nations of the province of Texas have arrived at this post to ask me for traders and presents, as they have done ever since I have been commandant; but, since I have no facilities for this, nor goods enough to sacrifice as I have done up to now, for those Indians are ruining me, I have ordered them to be sent to their villages without giving them anything, except something to eat. As a result they have consumed some of my cows and many barrels of maize. They seem to be disposed for an uprising, and I presume that in a short time there will be a fatal revolution, for which I shall not have the least responsibility, although the Governor of Texas gives me many instructions in this matter conducive to the good of the royal service.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *September 2, 1790.*

LOUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*September 10, 1790*<sup>270</sup>

No. 152.

The inhabitants of the settlement of Florisanta, four or five leagues distant from this town, having agreed to build a church of forty feet by twenty-five, sufficient at the present time for the number of people in the said settlement, have now completed it and put it in the best state of propriety possible. It was blessed and the first Mass said at the beginning of June, which function I attended with various persons of this town who accompanied me; and this parish priest also invited the one at Okao, so that the function might be conducted with the greatest solemnity. As patron of the said town and church they have chosen Saint Ferdinand in honor of His Royal Highness, the Most Serene Señor Prince of Asturias, which has greatly pleased the inhabitants, as well as having a church in which to gather to say their prayers. One Magriller has been appointed to look after the cleanliness and upkeep of the church, with a sacristan to say the prayer every day at sundown and every feast day, and everyone has agreed to give him one minot of wheat per year in return for his work.

I hope that all this will merit the approval of Your Lordship, as

<sup>269</sup> BL.

<sup>270</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

well as that the said settlement may henceforth be called San Fernando de Florisanta.

The inhabitants of the small hills on the other side of the Missouri have also agreed to build a church of their own, and have already begun to work on it. The people have decided to choose as patron, Saint Charles, in the name of our August Sovereign.

There is no doubt that these two towns needed to have a church and a cemetery, on account of their great distance from those of St. Louis. At the present time it would not be too much to have one priest between the two of them, so that they could with greater frequency have someone to attend to them and say Mass, because the priest at St. Louis cannot do so himself as long as it is necessary for him to go everywhere.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *September 10, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

MIRÓ TO O'FALLON

*September 30, 1790*<sup>271</sup>

NEW ORLEANS *the 30<sup>th</sup>. Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1790*

SIR: I hope this will meet you in the best health after so long & tedious a voyage.

I have received your three letters of 13<sup>th</sup> & 24<sup>th</sup>. May & 16<sup>th</sup>. July last, to which I have given no direct answer, expecting you down every moment, & only wrote you with this date to Kentucky to acknowledge the reception of the said letters.

I am very anxious to see you to make a personal intimate connexion of Friendship, & give you every proof of my esteem, & of the propensity and cordiality with which I am disposed to treat the business of your incumbency. therefore I refer myself to sight, & in the meantime I remain with the greatest regard

Sir Your most ob<sup>t</sup>. h<sup>e</sup> Servant

[Draft by MIRÓ]

Dr. O'Fallon Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Gen. Agent of the S. Carolina Yazoo Company

[In margin]

Enclosed I send you the passport you requested of me, besides at the Natchéz you will find any other assistance that you should have occasion for

<sup>271</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

MIRÓ TO O'FALLON

*September 30, 1790*<sup>272</sup>NEW ORLEANS *the 30<sup>th</sup>. Septm<sup>r</sup>. 1790*

SIR: In due time I have received your esteemed letters of 13<sup>th</sup>. & 24<sup>th</sup>. of May, & 16<sup>th</sup>. of July last by which I see with the greatest pleasure the sincere Friendship, that both by enheritance, and inclination you profess to our Nation, & that this very reason is the cause of your beeing charged with such an important commission.

The late connexion, that by these principles you have formed with our Friend the General is an addiction to the satisfaction of treating matters of such a weight with you.

I did not answer your two first letters expecting that before now I should have been able to do it by the word of the mouth, & from that very moment disposed to contribute as far as it might combine both interests to the satisfaction you aim at; in so much that from the contents of your said letters I have already sent to Court a Representation that may produce very flattering results.

I offered to the Minister a more extensive explanation of your proposals, after I should have acquired a thorough knowledge of them from our conferences, informing him at the same time of your amicable disposition, and such other particularitys; as will characterize you to the best advantage, your name being already known at Court.

These circumstances makes me more anxious for your arrival: business, and personal interest are both engaged in this meeting. It flatters me exceedingly to find your character coinciding so much with mine, as experience will convince you of: therefore I expect that these assurances will engage you the more to continue your voyage, as soon as the season will permit it, for which reason I did inscribe myself to these few expressions, even because I believe they may not find you there.

At your arrival at Bayou Pierre Col. Browin will deliver you my passport, & at the Natchez you will find in the Gov<sup>r</sup> of that district a reception that will convince you of the manner in which you are wellcome into this Province, & in this Capital you will find me as much a Friend, as favourably disposed to conclude agreeably the business in question.

I remain with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

ESTEVAN MIRÓ (Rubric)

Dr. O'Fallon Esq<sup>r</sup>. gen<sup>l</sup>. Agent  
of S. Carolina Yasu Company.

<sup>272</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

## GRAND-PRE TO MIRÓ

*October 2, 1790* <sup>273</sup>

On the 30th of last month at one o'clock in the morning there arrived five inhabitants from Coles Creek to inform me that in the afternoon of the previous day all of the settlers thereabouts had gone to the house of a Choctaw who had been settled at that place for eighteen years. They had been summoned there by five Indian chiefs of that nation, who had arrived there that same morning without passing through any other settlement, and who informed them that they should not fail to attend the meeting that afternoon, because they had something of the greatest interest to communicate to them without delay.

The settlers assembled and decided that only five of them would go to the said meeting, which they did.

Hardly had they arrived when the Indian chiefs, without giving them their hands or smoking, as was customary, told them that they had come expressly to learn from them whether they were really Americans, because the Americans were planning to come in and take possession of these lands. In order for them not to be embroiled in this action, it was necessary that each one should place his name on a paper. To this the settlers replied that since they were Spaniards, as were the others settled in this district, they were exempted from giving their names in writing. The Indians then asked how many men with arms there were in the district. The settlers replied that they did not know, but that, if they had any doubts, or demands to make, they should apply to the commandant of this post.

Rising to his feet, the principal chief then told them: "You are all Americans and usurpers of these lands, and as such I warn you to leave them with all your property within the next two weeks. Then I shall return with my warriors, together with the Talapoosa tribe, to compel all of your people to evacuate this territory." "And," the chief continued, "in order that you may be fully convinced that I shall keep my word and the purposes of my mission, you shall take note of the contents of these two papers." These he presented to the five settlers. As I was told by the said settlers, one was in the Castilian language and the other in English, both dated July 16 last, and signed by you, relative to putting a stop to the settlements of the Americans in the region from the west bank of the Yazoo to the Ohio or Bella Rivera. They pointed out to the Indians the wrong interpretation they had given this letter, which did not include them. The chiefs would not listen, nor accept



the food that was offered them, but departed with threats to the settlers, and set out for Bayou Pierre for the same purpose, where they had sent a messenger, in order not to delay an instant their return to their villages and preparations to carry out their threats.

As this news seemed to me to be very serious, on account of the haste with which the Indians made their appearance and departed, and as it might shortly have fatal results, before there was an opportunity to prevent them, I did not lose an instant, but immediately at five o'clock in the morning dispatched Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery Corps Don Antonio Soler to Bayou Pierre to find them, because the public peace depended on overtaking them; and I gave him a letter in the form of sealed *ardrissa* or instructions, in the two languages, Castilian and English, for delivery to the Indian chiefs. He overtook them at eight o'clock that night twenty-two leagues from this fort. The letter was translated to the Indians by an excellent interpreter, the said officer adding an explanation of it. In brief this resulted in concord. The Indians pretended to lay the blame on the bad interpretation that had been given them of Your Lordship's letter, and promised that henceforth they would never make any exactions on these settlers, but would consider them Spaniards. They assured those present, to whom they amicably gave their hands, that they regarded them as brothers, and that they could so tell the other settlers. They left that same night, saying that they were going to their villages, where they would instill the same sentiments, and that after two days' rest they would go to your capital to present themselves to Your Lordship. So these settlers have been and are now reassured.

Nevertheless I have taken the precautions suited to the location of each one, so that they may not be attacked.

I send Your Lordship herewith the letter that I sent to the said Indian chiefs, whose names are Naholomastabe, Esholouschomastabe, Tothechonia, Pouchahoma and Tanophoma.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *October 2, 1790.*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

From the Commandant of Natchez to the Great Chief of the Choctaw Nation and those accompanying, friends and allies of the Spanish Nation.

I have just learned that you have arrived in this district of Natchez without proceeding beyond Coles Creek, where you notified

an assembly of these settlers, held yesterday, that being authorized to expel Americans from the territory of your nation, and considering as such the said settlers at Coles Creek and Bayou Pierre, you gave them to understand that, as such Americans, they must immediately evacuate those lands. I learned also the further to support this proposition you have exhibited two letters, one in the Spanish language and the other in English, from the Señor Governor General of this province and West Florida, Brigadier Don Estevan Miró. The bad interpretation made by evilly disposed persons, must have induced you to make this demand, so contrary in its sense to the principles of our government and the powerful protection enjoyed by the subjects of the great Emperor of all Spain. This protection is given to the settlers in his royal name by the Señor Governor General, Don Estevan Miró, as well as to the friendly and allied nations that he governs; and I can do no less than inform you that all settlers established throughout this district of Natchez, even though previously of various origins, such as English, Americans, and French, have become naturalized Spaniards and subjects of our great Emperor, and as such, are protected against anyone who would disturb their well-being and tranquillity.

In consequence of these facts I am convinced that you will be disabused of the ideas which some evil minds must have inculcated in you, and that on the receipt of this letter, which will be presented to you by a Spanish officer, you will change your ideas, bearing in mind that to make the slightest exaction on one of these settlers is to make it on a Spaniard, which I should not expect or think of you, or of your nation, protected and honored by the Spanish nation. Likewise I hope that you will continue to govern yours with the prudence and zeal that has always distinguished you as our faithful friends and allies.

FORT NATCHEZ, *September 30, 1790.*

G. (Rubric)

PAULI TO MIRÓ

1790<sup>274</sup>

(Copy)

MOST HONORED SEÑOR GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THIS PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ: The Captain of the militia of this district of Galveztown, Josef Pauli, brings to Your Lordship's attention the fact that on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November last, on going into the woods, he encountered two Indians with two bags of bear fat, and, as he had need of same, agreed with the Indians to take

<sup>274</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

the two bags of fat they had in exchange for food and money. Returning to my house, I ordered a free Negress, named Francisca, to take one of the bags to the Señor Commandant, and again set off for the woods on my own affairs. While I was away the Indians came to my house with the fat, but the Señor Commandant came and took it away from me with an order without leaving me anything for my reimbursement. After I had arranged to get these and had ordered that half be given to the Señor Commandant, he conducts himself like this with me. I do not believe that Your Lordship would do this, even though you are the master of this whole colony, because Your Lordship desires only the welfare of all this colony and the good of the poor settlers in it.

Señor, in this district and town of Galveztown, no inhabitants can trade or buy anything with their provisions, as they have nothing but their crops with which to buy any fat from the Indians, such as the bladders or guts full of it which the Indians bring in.

No one may trade his provisions to them, because the Señor Commandant prevents this, as he wants everything for himself; and for this reason we are all disgusted, because it does not seem right to us that the Señor Commandant should want to take everything, and that the other poor people should perish, because God does not command this, nor Your Lordship either.

Señor, if the Indians bring in some deer or bear meat, the Señor Commandant seizes it all, and the other poor people perish; and then he sells by the pound to our disadvantage, what we poor people could conveniently buy with our provisions.

We beg Your Lordship as master of this colony and father of the poor, please to send us some order, so that the Señor Commandant may not prevent us from trading our provisions to the Indians for some fat or meat, as much as each poor man can. We ask that this order be made known to us, so that henceforth we may trade our provisions to them.

This favor we hope for from the charity of Your Lordship.

May God preserve Your Lordship any years.

Your humble servant awaits your commands.

JOSEF PAULI

NOTE: My Most Honored Sir: I likewise inform you truly on my word of honor that the Indians, although they wish to trade with us, are not permitted to do so because the Señor Commandant takes them to his house by force, and there does what he likes, and the other poor people of the settlement perish. They cannot get even a bear skin for their beds because the Señor Commandant takes everything, a circumstance that I have not seen all the time that I have been in this settlement with any of the Señores Commandants that have been

here, as they let everybody seek his livelihood as best each poor man could; but now this is not possible.

I kiss Your Lordship's hand, and hope for this favor as a relief for the poor.

My most honored Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*October 18, 1790* <sup>275</sup>

No. 63.

There have just arrived two Frenchmen from Post Vincennes, who escaped from the expedition made by the Americans against the tribes on the Wabash River. Their commander is Major Andramen. With 350 men, both troops and militia, he took the greater part by force. I so advise Your Lordship for your information.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *October 18, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*October 20, 1790* <sup>276</sup>

No. 66.

I inform Your Lordship that an Abenaki chief told me that he had gone by order of his king to the Chickasaw villages hoping to induce them to preserve the peace between people of their color, for they had enough to do with the whites without shedding blood among themselves. He says the Chickasaws paid little attention to this message, and that an American officer who was in the council put this question to him:

"Is your father of L'Anse à la Graisse, the Spaniard, building a fort? To this he replied, "Yes." "Then," said the American, "tell him that he does well, for I shall make him a visit, and in order to take possession of his fort I shall write him a little letter, which will be sufficient; and since we cannot have two commandants I shall name my sergeant for the place."

I replied that I was glad, and that my answer was ready and placed in my cannon to send to him. At this the chief burst out laughing, and asked me to hold a council on the following morning on behalf of his king, who is still living in the Shawnee village. I told him

<sup>275</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>276</sup> BL.

yes, and I hereby enclose the statement of the words of the council, which I am sending you for your information.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *October 20, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

WHITE TO MIRÓ

*October 23, 1790*<sup>277</sup>

DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: The bearer, Don Daniel Griffin, of Irish birth, is a nephew of Don Carlos Howard, ex-captain of the Irish Regiment and at present of the grenadiers of Cuba and secretary of the government of East Florida.

He intends to settle as resident in Louisiana and as such I recommend him to the protection of Your Lordship.

May the Lord preserve Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *October 23, 1790.*

Your very obedient and faithful servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

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*(Attached to the foregoing)*

ESTEEMED FRIEND: I have just taken note of the good qualities of Don Daniel Griffin of Irish nationality, whom you mention to me in your appreciated letter of the 23rd of last month.

Be assured that I shall give him all the aid and protection he may need, thanks to your recommendation and his good qualities.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 3, 1790.*

SEÑOR DON ENRIQUE WHITE.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*October 25, 1790*<sup>278</sup>

No. 67.

I submit to Your Lordship the list of the Americans who have sworn fealty during the entire month although they have not arrived together, distinguishing between those married and single and list-

<sup>277</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>278</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

ing the property of each one on arrival. I duly bring this to the notice of Your Lordship.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *October 25, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

List of the Americans, who swore fealty during this month with as to designation married, single, occupation, and property of each one on arrival.

Richard John Water—Doctor—Single—Property 2000 pesos

Joe Singleton—Carpenter—Single

John Colbert—Single

Joel Hocker—Blacksmith—Single—Tools

Levi Fech—Deserter—Single

Thomas Consthock—Single

Moris Relh—Single

Moses William Poles—Single—Deserter

Michel Byrne-ditto—Single

Hugh Moriland—Single

James Makinny—Single

David Core—Deserter—Single

Abram Shipy—Single

James Bayle—Deserter—Single

Francis Gaint—Single

Total 15—With profession—3.

NEW MADRID, *October 25, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*October 27, 1790* <sup>279</sup>

No. 156.

For the past two weeks there have repeatedly been received, from various persons from the other side who have come from Detroit and Michilimackinac, reports that are not very favorable for this country. They state that on their departure from those posts they were assured by news that had been received from Canada, that

England was about to declare war on Spain; and two of the said persons, inhabitants and merchants of Okao, who came down last, say that before their departure they were assured in Michilimackinac that war had already been declared, and also that it was planned to send an expedition against these settlements, for which purpose the English were making large presents to the Indian tribes up the Mississippi.

If this news proves to be true, and Spain is at war with England, it will not be strange if the English cast their eyes on Ylinueses as for some time past they have wished to get the Missouri for themselves, because of the many advantages they would gain. I should be very sad and regretful if such reports should prove to be true, on account of the poor situation in which this post finds itself. It is without sufficient forces to defend itself, as only forty soldiers, including two sergeants and one drummer, at the present time are its total garrison. Divided between St. Louis and St. Geneviève, little defense can be made with so small a number, which is not even sufficient to guard the store of powder (though little) that there is here. The number of inhabitants who can be assembled to guard and defend this and the other settlements is small. Added to this, little or no equipment for war is here, and what there is, in very bad condition, particularly the carriages of the few cannon we have. For the most part, as I have informed Your Lordship, all are almost useless. The only recourse remaining to us in St. Louis to defend ourselves, though not very long, is the north bastion which I have just constructed of stone. In case of an attack on this place it can resist for some time, but not for long, on account of the few munitions there are. I trust that in case the declaration of war occurs, Your Lordship will not forget to send these posts the aid necessary for their defense.

Ylinueses has always been given little attention, although the contrary should be the case, because, according to my way of thinking, and that of many intelligent persons who know the country, this is now the principal post for the security of the province, particularly if the war occurs with the English, who are masters of Canada, because if they succeed in taking possession of this country, there will be little security for the rest of the province.

From one of the persons who have brought the news about the other side I have received a gazette from Quebec of June 25, last. I imagine that there must be something transpiring between the two courts, according to what is stated in this gazette, a copy of which I send Your Lordship herewith. There is reason for fearing that the news will prove to be true, as well as for believing that it is true that the English recently have been cajoling the Indians in this region ex-

cessively and giving them a great abundance of merchandise, which cannot be for any good purpose.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *October 27, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FORBES TO O'NEILL

*November 4, 1790*<sup>280</sup>

PENSACOLA *4<sup>th</sup>. Novr. 1790*

SIR: It has allways been my wish Since Mr. Panton departed to give as little Trouble as possible to Government, but the Grievance I am about to represent to your Excellency is of Such a Nature, that were I to be Silent on the occasion, I Should deem myself Culpable of the Highest Neglect towards our House.—Your Excellency well knows that we have Conducted our Importations with the Strictest Honour & that the Articles introduced here have never been other than those permitted by the Royal Order & Governor Miro's Regulation—It was therefore a Matter of Surprise to me to be informed by Mr. Leslie the Agent of the House in Mobile, that the goods Sent from this port to that place in the Brig Dispatch under passport from Your Excellency were by Order of Captain Viz<sup>te</sup> Folck Commander of that Garrison opened upon the publick Wharf, & each package examined [the] Reason of which every one but himself is ignorant. Now as I have allways delivered at the Contaduria here a Manifesto of the Cargoe of every Vessel bound for that place after the packages had been examined in form I never conceived that any Officer was entitled to open & examine them more than by Seeing that their *Outward Marks & Numbers* were in Concurrence with the Manifesto;—The above Statement of affairs I beg Your excellency will remitt to Governor Miro in Order that he may issue his Orders to put a Stop to such Conduct in future; for when Mutual Contracts are inviolably observed on the one Side, they ought not to be Swerved from by the other.—I have the Honour to Sir Your Excelly most obed<sup>t</sup> & Hmble Servant

Signed J<sup>N</sup> FORBES

His Excellency Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> O'Neill

<sup>280</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).



## GRAND-PRÉ TO MIRÓ

*November 12, 1790* <sup>281</sup>

In compliance with Your Lordship's order, the proclamation about tobacco sent to me by Your Lordship in your letter of October 20 last, was publicly proclaimed to the roll of military drums on the 10th instant. This has also been translated into English and affixed in the public places of this district.

As soon as I receive the information that I have demanded from these inhabitants, as to the number of pounds of leaf and *andullos* that have been produced, I shall draw up a statement with the name of each grower, and send same to Your Lordship immediately; but I believe that on account of the carelessness and indifference of these inhabitants, I shall not succeed, even after repeated requests, in obtaining the total of this information until the very moment when they want to go down to your capital.

I inform Your Lordship of this so that you may not be surprised at any delays which may occur in the sending of this list.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *November 12, 1790*

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRÉ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*November 15, 1790* <sup>282</sup>

No. 69.

From Your Lordship's letter dated September 14, I take note of the will of His Majesty in connection with the increased armament of England. I shall bear this in mind, and shall take no action until I receive Your Lordship's order in the matter.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *November 15, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## HARMAR TO TODD AND JOHNSON

*November 29, 1790* <sup>283</sup>

FORT WASHINGTON *Nov. 29. 1790*

GENTLEMEN: I have just been Favoured with your joint Communications and as the Object of it appears to me important, I

<sup>281</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>282</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>283</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

embrace with Satisfaction the earliest moment to return an Answer by the Express who brought your Dispatches.

I exceedingly regret at this Juncture the absence of the Governor—who proceeded some Weeks ago up the river on his way to Philadelphia. I do not feel myself authorized alone to meet fully every Wish you have expressed; tho strongly inclined am I to join all possible Efforts with those of your Countrymen, in order to promote the Service of the United States, and of the Western Country particularly. I have therefore taken it upon myself, to order at this Instant on Board of a Flat, 500 lb of Gunpowder, 1000 lb of Lead, 6 Barrels of Flour, 6 Barrels of Beef and a Keg of Salt—which are all I can spare from the Public Stores, these you will receive at the Mouth of Kentucky River. In addition to this Supply, I cheerfully consent that you procure the requisite Quantity of Provision, which you will find me ready to carry to the Account of the United States, together with the Pay that shall become due—In regard to the Horses only, I find some Difficulty—It would be exceeding my present powers in the absence of the Governor of this Territory to undertake *positively* for the Indemnification of Horses to be used on the proposed Expedition. But so thoroughly am I convinced the greatest public good may result from seconding with Promptitude the Blow that has been struck at the Savages, that I do not hesitate to declare my firm Persuasion that Congress will most cheerfully acquiesce in the Indemnification desired. You may depend on my warmest Endeavours to effect this necessary Measure.

It will always afford me Pleasure to cooperate with the People of Kentucky whenever the Service may require it, and I shall be ambitious to concur with them in every efficient Measure that may promise Happiness to the Frontier Security to their Citizens or promote the common Interests of Government—I beg these Sentiments may be impressed upon their Minds.

Upon the present Occasion I think You would do well to mount not less than a Thousand good Horsemen upon whom you can depend. In order to second this Purpose, I enclose an Authority to call upon the Militia by Draught, in case the Requisite Number of Volunteers should not offer—

I think if General Wilkinson could be prevail'd upon to command on this Expedition, it would be a great Point gained,—I venture to Name that Gentleman from the Knowledge I have of his Courage, Activity and Military Skill—

With Sentiments of Attachment, I beg you to believe me  
Gentlemen

Your obedient and most hum Servant

JOS. HARMAR  
Brig<sup>r</sup>. General

Colonel Levi Todd and  
Colonel Robert Johnson  
County Lieutenants of Fayette,  
Woodford Kentucky—

P. S. I cannot close this letter without urging in the Strongest Terms the Necessity of the greatest Secrecy in promoting and of the quickest Dispatch in prosecuting the Enterprize without which it will not operate as a Surprise, nor obtain so effectually the Ends in View.

J. H.

(Copy)

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*December 4, 1790*<sup>284</sup>

No. 164.

There is nothing new at present in this district, the autumn having been very favorable on account of the lack of sickness, with the exception of some fever which did not continue long. Only it appears that the winter will be severe, judging from the way it has begun.

The news about the war continues, and has recently been received from Canada through a family that has come to settle at this post, where they have relatives. They report that when they left there nothing else was being talked of, and that it was said that it was inevitable that war would be declared between Spain and England, and that squadrons had already gone from the ports of both nations.

From the Ottawa tribe I have learned that the English have actually talked with them, as well as with the Iowas and Puz, telling them to be ready to come down with them to the Big Town, meaning this one. These reports, even though coming from savages, are usually most reliable, and consequently it is necessary to pay some attention to them. What is certain is that between the two courts there are serious disputes, and that the English are making their preparations. I shall not be surprised if they cast their eyes on the Ylinueses, even for no other reason than to get the Missouri, which they have desired for a long time; nor shall I be surprised, in case war is declared, if the unfortunate situation in which this country finds itself may be the cause of its being lost on account of not having greater defenses, and the remoteness of aid, which may not be sent in time. If this happens, it would cost much to regain it, and its loss would come at a time when this would be very unfortunate, as I consider the Ylinueses the most necessary post in the province in every way, although, indeed, it is the one to which the least attention is paid.

<sup>284</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

For the honor of the arms of the King, the nation, and for my own, I see myself compelled to advance these ideas to Your Lordship, and to give you all the news I can get, even though doubtful and not fully substantiated, so that Your Lordship, if you so desire, may send the aid that you consider advisable for the defense of the post. On account of its complete lack of defenses and because there are only two sergeants and thirty soldiers, little can be done, the more so as the settlement, which is not very large, is divided into five towns. They are remote from each other, and it might be necessary to abandon them to the fury of the savages. This is what is most to be feared on account of their barbarity.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES. *December 4, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*December 4, 1790*<sup>285</sup>

No. 165.

The news that I gave Your Lordship in my letter No. 153 that the Americans were making a sally from Cumberland to the number of three thousand men has been verified, according to the latest reports from the other side. It is aimed against the savages, but it appears that it has done nothing much. The most reliable news is that five hundred horsemen who gathered at Post Vincennes returned a few days after their departure, with the loss of one man and a number of horses which the savages captured from them. Some two thousand, four hundred men, both infantry and cavalry, who set out toward Detroit, burned two Indian villages, killed about six Indians, and wounded some twenty-four or twenty-six; but a large party of savages, Chickasaws, Puz, and others, assembled and attacked the Americans. As soon as the latter returned the attack, the savages began to retire. The Americans seeing this, followed them until they plunged into a swampy place, from which they could not get out. It appears to have been the intention of the savages in their pretended retreat to lead them into that place purposely, and so to succeed in their attack on the Americans. This they did. Then as soon as they saw them at a disadvantage, they fell upon them, and it is said that the Americans lost, both killed and badly wounded, very nearly four hundred men. The savages numbered, according to reports,

<sup>285</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

some five hundred, and this coup, which resulted favorably for them, has made them very arrogant, particularly the Puz of St. Joseph, who are by nature the most insolent of all the tribes on the Mississippi, although there are two parties of them that are well-behaved.

It appears that the Americans, despite this loss, will not desist from continuing to harass them.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *December 4, 1790.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

FOUCHER TO MIRÓ

*December 12, 1790*<sup>286</sup>

No. 77.

Doctor Flor and May William, residents of Natchez, who passed through here have given me the following certain news. General Harmar is back from his expedition with the loss of 200 men and 500 horses, and Colonel Clark with 700 men and 300 families will come down this spring in order to plant the flag of the United States between Bayou Pierre and Natchez. These 300 families will start a settlement and those 700 men are to help that party against the incursions of the Indians. I duly bring to the notice of Your Lordship this news so that you may let me know what I have to do at their passage.

May God give Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *December 12, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

O'FALLON TO BRUIN

*December 17, 1790*<sup>287</sup>

No. 1.

LOUISVILLE *Decr. 17, 1790*

DR. COLONEL: Since my last to you, of a few days since, by Mr. Flowers, I have been taken ill—, and now, though on the recovery, am scarcely able to write. I have presumed to trouble you with the inclosed, as the best vehicle I can now think of, for a safe & honorable delivery of them, to the gentlemen they are addressed to.

<sup>286</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>287</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

I have nothing more to add, to what has been communicated in my former Letter; but that, in the month of March, I expect to be down in the neighbourhood of the Yazou river, with a Regular Batallion (Horse, Infantry, & Artillerymen) consisting of 750 Privates, exclusive of officers, now raised & inlisted for 2 years—; which, I think, I shall make up to one thousand. With these go between 3 and 4000 Militia men, well armed, with their respective familys. This force goes from Kentucky, Franklin & Cumberland. Our general rendezvous is to be at the month of Tennessee, by a given day. These are my recruits. Those of the Company are to start, about the same time, through the Creek nation, 2000 from Georgia, 700 from S<sup>c</sup>. Carolina, and 500 from N<sup>c</sup>. Carolina. Gen<sup>l</sup>. MacDowell, Col. Farr & Major Christmass head these 3 divisions. I do not exaggerate, when I say: that, in one year, the Colony will probably consist of 10,000 fighting men. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Clarke (the Illinois Hero, is to command the whole, Regulars & Militia, when met. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sevier (now in Congress) is second in command. The whole is under my direction, not only by my powers from the Company; but by authority newly received from the Government of Georgia.

I take down provisions for one year, for the Regiment, which is now nearly ready—, 10 pieces of large Battering cannon—, 3 Brass field pieces, 3 Mortars, 5 Swivels—, 30,000 w<sup>t</sup>. of Powder, 60,000 D<sup>o</sup>. Lead, Iron ball, shells &c.

No colony ever Settled, commenced with such force, nor was the settlement planned on such liberal terms. We all settle concentratedly—, so that our whole strength can, in one hour, be embodied. I have also materials for a Furnace, for red hot balls, and a large quantity of every kind of Goods for the colonists & Indians. The goods am<sup>t</sup>. to £10,000 Sterlg.

I mean (and indeed I am instructed so to do) to hold the closest friendship with our neighbours, the Spaniards. If we desert them, and come to blows; they must first provoke us, either by intruding on our Grant, agressing by insults, or exciting the Indians. If they swerve in *one of these* we must be enemies—, and the weakest goes to the wall. MacGillivray is our Hardy Ally. Indeed, he is one of our Proprietors. Do write to me. Inclose it under cover, to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Clarke near Louisville, or to M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Morton, Merch<sup>t</sup>. at Lixington. I am scarcely able to write. Adieu, then, my friend; and rest assured that I am y<sup>r</sup>. Countryman (even from Roscommon), and what is more

y<sup>r</sup>. Sincere friend

JAM<sup>S</sup>. O FALLON

Col. BRIAN BRUIN.

O'FALLON TO PHELAN

*December 17, 1790*<sup>288</sup>GEN<sup>L</sup>. CLARKES (NEAR LOUISVILLE)*Dec<sup>r</sup>. 17, 1790*

No. 3.

DEAR NED: By dispatches from the Board, I was informed of y<sup>r</sup>. departure, and by a M<sup>r</sup>. Swain I understood you was safely arrived, and on y<sup>r</sup>. way to Col. Bruin's.

I wish you, if not otherwise instructed, to tarry at the Colonels, until I shall have arrived; which will be about the 10<sup>th</sup>. of March. The company knows the happy cause of my detention in these western Districts. I shall be then down with a Regiment of Regulars, now compleated, consisting of 750 privates, Horse, Foot, and Artillerymen, enlisted for 2 years—, and with about 3000 Militiamen, as Colonists, well armed—; with their familys; in all about 19000 Souls. I have provisions ready for the troops, and boats for all. I take down 10 pieces of Battering cannon, 3 field pieces, 2 mortars, 5 Swivels, 1500 Stands of spare bayneted Musquets, 30,000 H weight of Powder, 60,000 D<sup>o</sup>. of Lead, Cannon ball, Shells &c. The Regiment is as well equipped for war, as any you ever saw, & as well officered. The famous Illinois Hero, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Clark, commands both the Militia & Regulars. Sevier is 2<sup>d</sup>. in command. This is only for y<sup>r</sup>. comfort. I am in haste. I have to write to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Miro. Believe me to be, as always, my D<sup>r</sup>. Ned.

The same unchangeable friend

JAM<sup>S</sup>. O'FALLONMR. EDW<sup>D</sup>. PHELAN.

P. S.: How is y<sup>r</sup>. cook? I am taking down an elegant house, in frame.

Write to me, and address me at Lixington, or to the care of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Clarke, near Louisville.

O'FALLON TO BRUIN

*December 21, 1790*<sup>289</sup>

No. 2.

From Genl. CLARKE's, *Dec<sup>r</sup>. the 21st: 1790.*

DEAR COLONEL: Since my last, which goes by this conveyance; a business has occurred to me, which I have to request your interference in. It is of considerable importance to me, and to a friend of mine. Marshal and Poussat stand considerably in debt to us. The debt is

<sup>288</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).<sup>289</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

an encumbrance of *many years* standing, confessed by themselves, and otherwise confirmed by many irrefragable vouchers. It was, originally, due to one Peter La Poole, a Merch<sup>t</sup>. in Charleston, still alive there—, and of whom Major Tom Washington & Self bought it. La Poole gave me an authenticated Power of Attorney, to recover it of those men, for the Major's use & my own, with authority to depute. Through Major White's friend & mine (Capt. Charles Howard, Secretary to the Government of East Florida), and through the recommendation of one whom I consider as a Father, Governor Zespedes of St. Augustine—, I wrote to Major White on the business, as did his friend, Howard; sent to him my original Power, and requested his mediation & instrumentality, in recovering, or securing, the debt. Interest & Capital, it amounts to near £ 3000 sterlg.

I wrote repeatedly to Major White, respecting this debt; but never had the honor of a single reply from him. I even wrote, soon after my arrival in Kentucky; but without a response.

I mean to act liberally with the Debtors; but I purpose, to have the debt secured. It is fairly and unequivocally due—; and though Mr. Marshal, in his Letters, seems to except to the payment of any Interest, on acc<sup>t</sup>. of his losses (as he says) by Americans, in the late war—, the plea will not be allowed him. It has no basis in equity, mercantile usage, or law, to sustain it. But to solve all, the money became due & was payable to La Poole, long before the war. The fault, then, was his. Rather than be cajoled out of a *right*, (should New Orleans refuse me Justice, what I cannot presume), I would instantly have my complaints laid before the Court—, where, I can assure you, I have natural connexions to push my *Just* demands, as high & influential as almost any man in Louisiana.

My present request to you, my friend, is: that you be pleased to present Major White with my requests, and to interrogate him about the steps he had taken with Marshal & Poussat—, or if he took any. Likewise, to speak with those Debtors, gentlemen in the business—, and to write to me the result, as speedily as may be. Address to me, under cover, to William Morton, Merch<sup>t</sup>. in Lexington, or to Gen<sup>l</sup>. George R. Clarke, near Louisville. The one is my Merchant—, the other my Deputy-Agent for Kentucky, old Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sevier, (who goes down, in March, at the head of one thousand fighting men, with their familys) is my Deputy Ag<sup>t</sup>. for Franklin—, and Col. James Robinson (who goes down at the head of 500 men, at the same time) is my Deputy Ag<sup>t</sup>. for Cumberland. Clarke & myself go down together, with 1500 men, and their familys, from Kentucky, old Virginia, Red Stone, and Pittsburgh. All these are Militia—colonists. We likewise take down the Regim<sup>t</sup> of Regular troops, consisting of 50 Artillery men, 80 well mounted & compleatly armed Cavalry, and the rest Infantry—Riflemen. Of these 13 Com-



panys (50 privates each) are already recruited. I am now enlarging the Regiment to 1000 privates—, what I could swell to 2000 if I chose.

I take down one year's provisions for the Regulars; and cannon, arms & ammunition compleat, which I have now ready by me. I obtained (by his late Letter to the Company) every offer of protection from the Presid<sup>t</sup>. of the union. This we keep in petto, but, if the Spaniards favour, and but look kindly at us & our trade; our fixed purpose is, immediately to become organized into a Separate Government, like Vermont, unconnected with the Atlantic States, and to ally ourselves with Spain, *offensively & defensively*, as the impregnable Barrier of Louisiana, if they will have us. If not, Britain will. MacGillivray is our copartner & ally. All we want of Spain, is a small indulgence in our trade, and to unite with us, *sincerely* in reconciling the Choctaws & Chickasaws. If they do not, the British offer it. And if neither do it, Congress will attempt it. And if all fail—, why, Congress, the Creeks, and our own force will unite, in exterminating them, should they prove hostile. But our first offer is to Spain, and the Company's hearts (for they are all *Antifederalists*) are with the Spaniards.

Besides the above force, the Company have engaged, 700 men from the two Carolinas, under General MacDowell & Col. Farr—, 300 under Major Christmass now on their way—, and 2000 from the Talifero County, (lately ceded to the Creeks, by treaty) in Georgia. The last 2000 will arrive in the Spring, and more with them. There never was a Spot for settlement, which bids fairer for a rapid population, from all parts—, than the S<sup>c</sup>. Carolina Company's Grant. The first men in America have bought lands there—, and all the *Antifeds* are in motion to it. So soon as we are independent, and indulged in a little trade by Spain, our ally—; Kentucky, Franklin, Cumberland, and all the Settlements, as far as Pittsburgh, follow our example, confederate with us, & ally with Spain. This plan is fixed, and Congress know it.

Our friend, Gen<sup>l</sup>. W-n, whom I otherwise love at heart, wished to become one among us, in a Grant of Land and solicited the Agency given to Clarke; but his conduct with the British, with S<sup>t</sup>. Clair, with Congress, with the Spaniards, and with the Company (as I have discovered beyond doubt) is too mysterious, intriguing, circuitous & meandering—, that I dare not trust him. This is his misfortune. He cannot move but in Zig-zaggs. He certainly holds intercourse with the British, at Detroit, and (as he is poor) is open to the *best terms*. His influence here is gone and never was much. He is now pushing for a Seat in Congress. He is pushing for a pension with the Spaniards. He is pushing to command a body of troops against the northern Indians. He is pushing to hold 50,000 acres with

us; and in all he will be disappointed. In his affairs, he is here on his last leggs. With one side or other, he must be guilty of treachery. He cannot serve so many masters. He will fall between two Stools. He has sense to plan *in theory*; but never had sense, *to execute*. He never had abilities, to serve himself. How then could he serve others. By his over-doing all things, and by his shallow intrigues, he always prejudiced the very cause he abetted. He led the Spaniards a dance; he made them believe, he was a great man—, the first in Kentucky—, that he would separate it—, send them colonists, &c; but his weight, fortune & abilities, were too inconsiderable, to effect as much even, as a common Captain of Militia. I love what is amiable in the man; but regret (for his fine family's sake) that he ever was his own Enemy. I knew him, since he was a Lad. The Whistle of a name—, the meer title of a General ruined him. Had he practiced Phsysic (altho' a man of no education at all) he would make money. As a Politician & Spy, he will never be worth a Shilling."

I enjoin, you, on your honor, to keep these Strictures to yourself. They are intended for you alone. Be the sole repository of them. On my soul, I wish to serve the good man. I could do it. I helped him in many things; but he will not (from his damned crooked ways) suffer me to serve him further. No man can serve him. Were I certain he was a *Solid* friend to the Spaniards; and not entangled with the British (whose letters and affair I have seen) I could open my sentiments to him. But the poor fellow is leaky, even in his own secret affairs. He discloses too much to every man—, to any man. I therefore have kept (intimate as I am with him) all my designs from him. He is bewildered about them. He daily sees a stupendous fabric daily arising in bulk before his eyes—; but cannot account for it, nor explain how it can so swell, without his having anything to do in the business. I will convince the Court of Spain (and that without the smallest view of *place* or *pension*, what I would spurn at) that, *in one year* I will do that Court more vital & important services, if it will suffer me—; than ten thousand W—ns could have effected *in a Century*. I again repeat it, be secret, 'till I shall see you. I am, with heart-felt regard, My D<sup>r</sup>. Colonel—

Y<sup>r</sup>. truly devoted & inviolable friend

JAMES Ô FALLON (Rubric)

BRYAN BRUIN ESQUIRE.

#### FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW MADRID

*December 31, 1790*<sup>290</sup>

List showing the families who were found established at the post of New Madrid when the commandant arrived there, and those who

<sup>290</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 17.

have established themselves since then, with the exception of those who have gone away.

Names	Married men	Women	Children	Single men
James Madonel	1	1	3	
Mozes Lansford	1	1	3	
Adam Ause	1	1	5	
Joel Beker				1
Samuel Wenwe				1
Maria Morgan		1		
Tomson	1	1		
Tom Devison		1		1
Josef Story				1
John Stillman	1	1	6	
Juan Baupista Barzeloux				1
Tibo St. Sagres	1	1	3	
Maria Guarlia		1	2	
Fran <sup>co</sup> Pifo				1
Ambrosio Duime				1
Fran <sup>co</sup> Duime				1
Antonio Seré				1
Juan Baupista Sudifion				1
Luis Sarsamen				1
Josef Lesiur				1
Fran <sup>co</sup> Lesiur				1
Total	6	8	22	13

The number of forty-nine persons shown in this list are those found present at this date.

NEW MADRID, *December 31, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric).

Names	Married men	Women	Children	Single men
Pedro de Roicce	1	1	4	
Pedro Tilverid	1	1	1	
Juan Deny				1
Arter Nolen				1
Azor Rees		1	2	
Federico Stopman	1	1	1	
Carlos Guillivo	1	1	4	
Mariana Widow of Duvé		1	2	
Fran <sup>co</sup> Paquain	1	1	4	
Luis Mailveufs	1	1	2	
Jayne Guture				1
Alexandro Sentson	1	1	1	
Hipoli Campoo				1
San Antonio	1	1	4	
Antonio Bermet				1
Fran <sup>co</sup> Sanpafia				1
St. Maria Borbon	1	1	3	
Amable Bolon	1	1	5	
Johen Legré				1
Pedro McKay	1	1		
Pedro Letulipe	1	1	3	
Josef Soasen	1	1	4	
Samuel Devis				1
Johen Clibelin				1
Johen Mecolmeck				1
Ricardo John Water				1
Aron Day				1
Maisonbille	1		4	
Maguibinne				1
Widow of Barcelaux		1		
Josef Chiesom	1	1	3	
Blachorne				1
Villimock				1
Empfl and a brother				2
Luis Savul	1	1	1	
Fran <sup>co</sup> Amelin	1	1		
Jeremin Kendlle				1
Total	18	19	48	18

The total of 103 persons shown in this list are those found present on this date.

NEW MADRID, *December 31, 1790.*

PEDRO FOUCHER (Rubric).

PROPOSED SETTLEMENT AT MUSCLE SHOALS  
BY THE TENNESSEE COMPANY  
*January 1, 1791*<sup>291</sup>

NOTICE

IS HEREBY given, to those who may become adventurers to the Tennessee Purchase, that the subscriber intends to set out from Danville, on the tenth day of March next, for the settlement of the Muscle Shoals; Also Mr. Bernard Gaines, intends to set out at the same time, who will act in conjunction with him as Assistant Agent to the Tennessee Company; and those who have engaged with Mr. Gaines for that expedition, are desired to attend at that time, who shall respectively be intitled to five hundred acres of land as prescribed in the following articles.

As it is thought impracticable for those who migrate from the districts of Kentucky and Cumberland to take provisions sufficient for one years consumption, the proprietors will secure and take down from the settlements of Holstein, supplies on reasonable terms. It is also recommended, that the adventurers will furnish themselves with farming utensils, such as an ax and hoe, and such as have it in their power, saws, augers, chisels &c.

JOHN GORDON, *Assistant Agent, Tennessee Co'y.*

TERMS agreed on this first day of January 1791 by Zachariah Cox, Thomas Gilbert, and John Srother Proprietors of the Tennessee Company's Purchase, on the one part, and the under written subscribers on the other.

Article 1st. It is agreed that the proprietors of the Tennessee company, will lay out in a true square, Four Hundred and Eighty Thousand Acres of Land, on the South side of the Tennessee River, within the limits of their purchase, which shall be again divided into square lots containing five hundred acres each; and each male adventurer above the age of sixteen years, who shall go on the present expedition and carry with him his own arms, ammunition and provisions, sufficient for one years consumption, and continuing within the limits of said purchase one year after his arrival, or until he shall raise and secure a crop of Indian corn, shall be entitled to a bounty of five hundred acres aforesaid.

<sup>291</sup> BL, (Printed in English).

Art. 2d. In order to secure to the adventurers, their choice of lotts, and at the same time to give a preference to no one, (whereas from the common and united exertions of the whole, no one can be intitled to a preference) there shall be a fair and impartial ballot drawn on the        day of        which shall be conducted by three persons chosen by the adventurers for that purpose, and the person drawing number one, shall have the first choice, and so on each making choice agreeable to the number he shall draw, until the whole are supplied.

Art. 3d. If any adventurer shall die, or be killed on his way down or after he shall arrive at the said purchase, his bounty of land shall revert to, and be vested in his heirs or representative, agreeable to the law of the land, except the person so dying shall otherwise dispose of the same by his last will and testament.

Art. 4th. The proprietors aforesaid, engage to make titles in fee simple, to the adventurers for the lots which they respectively may be entitled to, within twelve months after their arrival to the said purchase.

Art. 5th. The whole of the adventurers shall be laid off into companies of convenient numbers, and the military officers chosen by themselves.

ZACHARIAH COX,	} <i>Proprietors of the Tennessee Company's Purchase.</i>
THOMAS GILBERT,	
JOHN STROTHER,	

O'FALLON TO MIRÓ

*February 18, 1791*<sup>292</sup>

CRABB-ORCHARD (KENTUCKY) *Febr<sup>y</sup>. 18, 1791.*

SIR—

The *friendly* overtures which, for the reputable Company I represent, I had the honor of making to your nation, in my earliest communications; and which, in behalf of that Company, and of the formidable body of Regular forces, as well as of the great group of armed Colonists who are, all, to accompany me, to the Yazou's mouth, I had, since, reiteratedly repeated, in mine to your Excellency—, these friendly overtures, I repeat it to Your Excellency, still continue to preside over my sentiments; notwithstanding that Letter, stricured in my two last Letters to your Excellency, which had been designed to have incited the Choctaws & Chickasaws against the Americans of the Company's territory, subject to my immediate Superintendancy—, and notwithstanding a novel account Just brought in, to me, from New Orleans, intimating: that, in a late

<sup>292</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

transaction of y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's Commandant at the Natchez, with a certain M<sup>r</sup>. Phelan, who, from the similarity of his name to that which is mine, was Suspected to be the Company's Agent General—, a *personal indignity* was intended, by that Commandant, to have been offered to me.

This M<sup>r</sup>. Phelan, was, at the time, it is said, at Col. Bruin's Plantation, within the Companie's Grant—, when, (supposing him to be Doctor James O Fallon) a band of Soldiers had been sent out, to seize upon him, by the Commandant's order—, and the honest, undesigning young man was, accordingly captivated, and was in the guise of a Prisoner, conducted to y<sup>r</sup>. Fort, near the Natchez village. Supposing him to be me, the Commandant & his Guard had treated him, not only with humiliating contempt, but with a species of contumely that was indignant & degrading; but, when the Commandant had detected the mistake, he was treated with becoming deference & decorum. This, if true, is a monitory Lesson to me, of those cautionary measures which, for my personal protection, it behoves me to take; before I can trust myself, *unprotectedly*, within the pale of that Commandant's Jurisdiction—, and it further confirms me, in the propriety of my obtaining of Your Excellency, (as already required) a *Safe conduct*, or Passport, not unworthy the station I hold, and the gratitude which, from every true Spaniard, is due me, for my friendly views—, before I can venture myself within New Orleans.

This intelligence has reached me, but this moment, while at table with Col. Logan—, and such are the sentiments it has excited in me; that (my respect for y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency is such) I judged it becoming of me, to disclose them to yourself, confidentially. Your Excellency has the recital, as written to me, by a Gentleman, a friend of mine, at Cumberland, who had obtained it from New Orleans—, and he speaks so positively, of its authenticity; that I am at a loss (difficult as it is, for me, to believe) how to credit it. I shall, *in this place*, only submit it to your Excellency, what steps best comport with y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's conduct, on the occasion. Conformable to my last, I did not mean to write to your Excellency; before I had it, under y<sup>r</sup> Excellencie's hand, by Express—, whether or not the hostile requisitions made by you, to the two Indian nations (as in my last), have been, or should be countermanded. If not; our negociation of alliance, and about uniting our respective strengths together, should Britain attack you on the Mississippi, must give way to arrangements, on the Companie's Side, far different from those originally destined by them, in y<sup>r</sup> Country's favour, for adoption. I have written to the Board, as well as to other Gentlemen connected with us, and highly influential in the States, on that head. I shall await their result, as well as the transmission of y<sup>r</sup> Excellencie's Reply, by

the aforementioned Express. By both these, shall mine, and my troops & Colony's movements be directed. It will, therefore, be impossible for me, to wait upon your Excellency, or to open the colony, before the approaching Fall. I shall reside in this District, in Franklin & Cumberland; until that season shall have arrived, which, for health, will best suit the troops and the new settlers. My Battalion is swollen into a Regiment of 20 Companies. When recruited, it will amount to a thousand, Strong—, of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry-Riflemen. This compliment will be filled about May next. The Militia Colonists who, with these, are, then, in part, to accompany me, & in part, to pass, by Land, through the Chickasaws & Choctaws, to the place of Settlement, will amount to 3000 Fencibles, well equipped & armed. By the way, no Indian shall be molested in their march—, except a hostile one; nor will any, I am satisfied, of the two nations, prove hostile—, if not incited to aggression by some Christian Enemy. It is therefore (and as the purpose of my heart is friendly to Spain, at this time) my earnest wish: that such aggression, if any, shall not have originated with y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency. If so, I antecedently assure y<sup>r</sup> Excellency, that (such is the temper of the Americans who shall go by *land*) it will not be borne *with passivity*.

What, then, is to be done? I will relate it, with candour, to your Excellency. Undo the mischief destined against us, by y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's address to both the nations. Tell them, we are *the friends of Spain*, as we *originally* meant to be—; and, I tell your Excellency, we shall, *yet*, be such. Our troops are destined to assist y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's Government, in every exigency. Coerce them not, to fall in, with Britain, and negotiate with Lord Dorchester, who has, already, written to the Company. This is not a business, merely visionary. In our Colony, it is not intended to pay the smallest regard, to Congressional Proclamations. They purpose a dismemberment. The two other companies purpose the same. The Districts of Kentucky, Franklin & Cumberland are ripe, and will, soon follow the example—, nor will it be in the power of the Atlantic States, to impede the rupture: With distinguished respect & real regard, I remain  
y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency's very humble and obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES O FALLON

Please to answer

His Excellency Governor MRO.

P. S.: I am very apprehensive, that your Excellency has, all along, been deceived from this country—, less from design, perhaps, than from any sinister intention. Be that it may—, y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency has, certainly, been misled by *alarms* &c—to which the shadow of a cause never existed. The test of time has, and will, still, evince

this cautionary Proposition. Let us leave the event to that Test. For me, I am not so much as a Passenger; but would be sorry to behold a Bark sinking, through the *credulity* of its own crew—, while, in fact, it is proof against all leakage—

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Clark accompanies the Forces, in the Fall. He is the companie's commissioned Agent, for Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. He is, in chief, to command, during the march; and is appointed, by the Executive of Georgia, permanently to preside over all the Forces of the Colony. This is the Clark, who, in the late war, has been the Saviour of upper Louisiana—, was then, and still continues to be devotedly attached to y<sup>r</sup>. Country. He is deeply interested in the companie's Grant. Should y<sup>r</sup>. Excellency enable me [*line illegible*] from the settlement. I wish, to have him present, at our negociations. A Passport for him, (to be left at Col. Bruin's) will, likewise, be necessary. His name is George R. Clark.—

Our friend, Wilkinson, can tell you, (if he tells you anything about it) of the rapid, and, indeed, unexampled progress I have made, and still continue to make, in point of raising troops, and procuring Families, not throughout Kentucky alone, but throughout every District and Settlement on the western waters. He can, further, inform you, (although my measures are made known to no man, however intimate and friendly to my views, before they become perfected) that, not a single character of wealth, respectability, or influence in Kentucky, Cumberland, or Franklin, who is not, *vitally*, interested with us, and most of them, with their dependents, about to go down, in the FALL. As to the Southern Atlantic States—, there, the Companie's influence is paramount. Beside the 4000 Men, as above, which I have raised on *this side* of the Mountains—the company has now ready, to send off, from the other side about 6000 more, towards the close of this current year.

J. O F.

REVILLA GIGEDO TO MIRÓ

March 2, 1791 <sup>293</sup>

Copy.

The Lipan Apache have lived for many years here on the frontiers of the provinces of Coahuila and Texas, the latter bordering on the province in charge of Your Lordship. Those Indians remained at peace in the two first-named provinces until the end of the year '90, when war was made upon them by Brigadier Don



Juan Ugalde. He was commandant general of the four interior provinces of the eastern part of this kingdom, in which are comprised the two abovementioned of Coahuila and Texas. Efforts are now being made to re-establish the peace; but at the time when the Lipan were carrying on open hostilities against us they made peace with four of the Indian tribes who live north of Texas, called Bidai, Coco, Attacapa, and Arkokisa and started an extremely injurious trade. This trade consists of delivering to them the horses and mules they have stolen from us and captives made prisoners during the war, in exchange for fire-arms and ammunition. These are obtained in the neighborhood by the four tribes from the traders of that province who are established in the villages of the Opelousas and Attakapas, or from other Indians who live between, as far as the places where they reside.

The four tribes or parties mentioned above depend upon the government of Texas the same as others known there under the generic name of Indians of the North, in which are included the Tawehash, Yscanis, Tawakoni, etc., and they receive annually the present which is distributed to them in San Antonio de Bexar. All were irreconcilable enemies of the Lipan Indians, and it is for the greatest interest to the service of the King and the peace of his subjects in the provinces of the east to maintain enmity and disunion between the two by fomenting their hatred and rancor; for upon such management depends nothing less than the restraint of the Lipan, so that they may not dare to attack us openly, fearing our forces and those of our Indian allies of whom they are afraid. If the Lipan become reconciled with them and we allow the friendship to be strengthened, they will not only refuse us their aid in bringing the Lipan under restraint but they will also have the double advantage of providing themselves with arms and ammunition which we deny them with the most justifiable reasons, and which are not received from our hands in Texas by the nations of the north and the Comanche, who keep the peace.

We have always been doubtful of the good faith of the Lipan Apache, but nevertheless it is necessary for us to ignore the injuries which they cause us secretly, in order to avoid the greater harm which they would do us in open war. But it is very necessary to break off the friendship and trade which they have established with the Coco, Bidai, Attacapa, and Arkokisa, as I have already told Your Lordship. I hope you will be pleased to give notice to the traders who are in Opelousas and Attakapas belonging to the province of Louisiana that they are not to sell them arms or ammunition until there is positive evidence that they have broken off their alliance with the Lipan and do not admit them to trade in their villages.

At the same time I am waiting for Your Lordship to give orders to the aforesaid traders to take a part themselves and urge the Indians who come into San Antonio de Bexar to keep their compact with us, and to reject always the proposal of friendship and commerce with the Lipan.

Your Lordship should also direct the commandant of the post of Natchitoches to contribute to the same object by keeping up a correspondence with Colonel Don Ramón de Castro, commandant general of the Provinces of the East, and with the governor of Texas in order to inform them of any occurrence or important happening that he may observe among the friendly Indians, with the idea that I shall order that the present shall be refused at San Antonio to the Bidai, Coco, Arkokisa, and Attacapa if it should be necessary to compel them not to admit the Lipan to their villages or habitations.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

MEXICO, *March 2, 1791.*

EL CONDE DE REVILLA GIGEDO.

Señor Governor of Louisiana.

DELINO TO MIRÓ

*March 4, 1791* <sup>294</sup>

No. 34.

The Indians of the Abenaki nation have assured several hunters on the White River that at the beginning of next April a congress will probably be held between the St. Francis River and the post of L'Anse à la Graise consisting of the following nations: the Chickasaw, Mascouten, Cherokee, Shawnee, Abenaki, and Sauk. They say that the reason for this assembly is to make an agreement to war upon the Osage. To the end of assuring myself that the aforesaid is true and to learn the motives thereof, I have sent two hunters, who are thoroughly familiar with those places and know how to speak several Indian languages, with orders to withdraw immediately upon learning the real motives of the aforementioned assembly. I make this known to your Lordship so you may be kept advised.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

FORT SAN ESTEVAN of Arkansas, *March 4, 1791.*

YGNACIO DELINO (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

## DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*March 30, 1791*<sup>295</sup>

No. 5.

In an official letter of the 5th of September 1788, Your Lordship states the following to me: "According to your request in official letter No. 36, I am giving the necessary orders to the commandant of Ouachita to prevent the clandestine introduction among the Kadohadacho of vagabond traders, who can do nothing more than accelerate the ruin of the trade now carried on but already sufficiently decadent. I immediately gave Filhiol the necessary orders to cut off the destructive business of Lepinet." To this I reply by informing Your Lordship that from that time until the present the aforesaid Lepinet has not stopped carrying on this trade with the Caddo, whom he brings to the upper Ouachita in order to trade with them.

This causes very great injury to the trader whom I have appointed for this nation, and since the damage occasioned this year is incalculable, I am informing Your Lordship that in the month of October of last year Lepinet sent to the Caddo his partner Robert Mignon, English by nationality, with another Canadian. They ended by winning over a part of this nation whom they took to their encampment on the upper Ouachita, where Lepinet has kept them up to the present time. This has caused a considerable loss to the trader appointed by me, for he has many outstanding debts. According to information I have received, Lepinet and Robert Mignon ought to be sent down to that capital. For this reason I appeal to the unbiased justice of Your Lordship to see that they are punished as the case demands.

The nation of the Caddo is the only one that stands in the way of the passage of the Osage to this post, and it is of the greatest importance for me to keep it satisfied and always loyal to our monarch. As there is no one who wishes to trade with these Indians, on account of the fall in price of the peltries, and for the reasons already explained, I have found it necessary to keep this nation contented by sending them traders for their aid and pacification, and I feel very much the repeated losses caused to me by such vagabonds; but I should hope to receive from your Lordship the justice I request, and I beg that you will be pleased to give the necessary orders to the aforesaid commandant of that district.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *March 30, 1791.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

DE BLANC TO MIRÓ

*March 30, 1791*<sup>296</sup>

No. 6.

Several parties of Indians of the Choctaw nation together with some Chickasaw have introduced themselves into this jurisdiction under my command, and I am informed by the last report, which arrived on the 20th of the present month, that many of these nations are on the road to this place on the pretext of the scarcity of game in their territories. They passed the cattle ranch of Juan Bautista Brevel and compelled him to give them provisions, which this citizen could not refuse; and so he came to me to complain of the arrogant behavior of these Indians. Whenever they come to this post they come directly to lodge in my house, and the chiefs, relying upon their commissions, believe that I am obliged to receive them and provide them with supplies for their subsistence. I wish to learn from Your Lordship whether I must suffer the introduction of these Indians into my district, and in what manner I ought to treat with them.

I rely upon the orders and instructions existing in this post of my command drawn up by Your Lordship in Article 3 for the pacification and tranquillity of the Indians, a praiseworthy object to which I ought to devote myself with every care. Consequently, I could not help being inspired by the enthusiasm which I profess for my sovereign and master (whom God preserve) to receive all the nations which resort to this post, of this jurisdiction as well as that of Arkansas, Illinois, Choctaw, and various others of this province and of those of the province of Texas, who are very numerous. The last are the most restless, and they come continually to ask me for traders and presents. I have found it necessary to lodge them and provide for their subsistence, and have also felt compelled to give them small presents, for it would have been distasteful to me to send them away empty-handed after they have come so far. For the last three years since I have been entrusted with the command of this post I am being financially ruined because of the expenses of the Indians as I have already informed you in my official letter No. 62. For this reason I hope that Your Lordship, in view of my zeal and my punctual fulfillment of the charge for the pacification and tranquillity of the Indians, and the fact that this expense cannot be borne by an official without fortune and with such a large family, will be pleased to determine what may seem best to you, in the matter of the expenses that I have incurred for the benefit of the royal service. I hope you will take the burden from me in future for the lodging and subsistence of the nations who pass through this post, placing this

charge upon the interpreter of His Majesty, with such arrangements as you may judge to be best.

I have just received word from Don Josef Armant, purveyor general of the Indian nations of the province of Texas, that the peace made with the Comanche by Don Domingo Cabello, former governor of the same province, has been broken, and the Comanche have killed five men of San Antonio de Bexar. On the other hand, the Tawehash, Tawakoni, Wichita, and Yscanis, who are the nations who made peace in the time of Don Athanase de Mézières, are now on the point of rising. In the month of September of last year they came to visit me, and seeing that I gave them nothing (in reality because I was without the articles), they showed great annoyance, telling me that when they went to Bexar the governor told them he had nothing to give them. They said that the same thing happened to them here so that in every way the Spaniards were deceiving them, and that at the time when they were at war with us they were better off, for then they never lacked horses and mules to steal; and they provisioned themselves with spoils from the people whom they killed. They also stated that when Don Athanase de Mézières died he had carried with him all the promises of peace which he had made with them, and that for this reason they were abandoned, without traders, or any help whatever, and that they were not obliged to keep the peace. It was necessary to give them great promises for the future, to present them with some rolls of tobacco and plenty to eat, and to send them off with good words. In consequence of this, I might add that, until the same arrangement that existed in the time of Baron de Ripperda, governor of the province of Texas, and Don Athanase de Mézières, commandant of this post, by agreement between the two, is re-established, the tranquillity which we desire shall exist among the Indians will never be secured.

In view of all these circumstances and considering that so many nations come here and that their number cannot fail to increase more and more, the attention of the government is necessary and it seems to me indispensable to name in this district a commissary especially charged with the affairs of the Indians who may visit them frequently in their villages. This commissary should prevent suspicious people from coming among them, especially the English (of whom there is no lack as far as a hundred leagues in the upper part of the river) for it is not known whence they come. With the wise regulations and measures of the government formulated by the upright and good administration of Your Lordship there is no doubt that the subjects of his Majesty will secure all the tranquillity that they need for the safety of their families and property.

God keep Your Lordship many years.  
NATCHITOCHES, *March 30, 1791.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Perez to Miró

*April 5, 1791*<sup>297</sup>

No. 178.

It has been definitely ascertained that the murder of the two hunters who were killed on the Missouri by savages at the end of last year, as I reported to Your Lordship in my letter No. 174, was not done by the Puz tribe, as was believed. If it has been done by the leader of a party of the Sac tribe together with three more members, he is, as all agree, the only chief of this tribe that the English could win over during the war. With thirty or forty men who followed him he came in the attack they made on this post. Since that time he has been separated with his party from the tribe.

Four of the principal chiefs of the Sac tribe having come to this town with a party of fifty men, I accused them of this attack. They unanimously confessed that it was true that it had been made by the one said to have done it, as they had this news on the way. They said that it caused them much sorrow, because their tribe had done no harm to any whites, especially our side, as they asserted. These chiefs have promised me that they will make every effort possible to cause the members of this party which has separated from them to realize the evil they have done and will try to bring them to reason.

One of these four chiefs, who, in the opinion of all those who know them, is the best, has remained here, not wishing to return to his village until he has gone down to see Your Lordship and New Orleans, as he is doing by this opportunity. He says that if, on his return, the tribe does not behave properly, he will take his party and separate from them and come to this district or to the place that pleases him most on his journey.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *April 5, 1791.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Perez to Miró

*April 5, 1791*<sup>298</sup>

No. 180.

I have been informed by some traders who have come down from the Mississippi, that a great section of the Oto nation from the

<sup>297</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 16.

<sup>298</sup> BL.

Missouri had gone to trade at the houses of the English traders of the Mississippi who, in order to tempt them to come, give them merchandise at a very low figure, with the expectation of making up the loss at a later date. They even go farther, for they themselves cross the country to the banks of the Missouri in order to trade with the Indians.

Other persons who likewise have come down from the Mississippi have assured me that some Englishmen had gone to trade with the Omahas and Pawnees. Notwithstanding the fact that I have given to their party the orders necessary for the traders of these two nations to arrest any English trader who may present himself in their district, I greatly fear that it cannot be done, because the contraband traders will, in all probability, have savages from other nations accompanying them who will not permit our traders to arrest them or do them any harm.

I shall not fail to inform Your Lordship that now is the time, if ever, to check the introduction of the English on the Missouri. In order to accomplish this, I find no other means than to construct a fort at the entrance of the Des Moines River, and another at that of the San Pedro River, taking all possible precautions in order to oppose their entrance by way of the aforesaid rivers which are most favorable for their operations. Without these measures, it would appear to me that we may as well renounce the Missouri within a short time and this will result in disorders on the frontiers of Mexico where all our inhabitants are always wishing to go with the hope of acquiring great riches.

It is evident that the English, and particularly the Americans, speak of nothing else but the kingdom of Mexico, and are always trying to find a road that will lead them to it. The introduction into the Missouri may open the way to them and, if they once succeed in finding the road, there is the risk that they may follow it because of their great ambition in this regard.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *April 5, 1791.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

POPE TO WILCOX

*June 4, 1791* <sup>299</sup>

AT GENERAL MCGILLIVRAY'S *June 4th 1791.*

MY DEAR SIR: Thus far have I in Safety arrived, and experienced that *Success* in my progress, which the most sanguine Mind had no

<sup>299</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

Right to expect. The Governor of Pensacola paid a polite and friendly Attention to me. He accommodated me with an Horse, a double portion of provision, which enabled me out of a Glass of good, old Maderia, to drink your respective Healths—

The Gentleman with whom I now am, will render me all the Service in his power, by facilitating my Entrance into Georgia, from whence, Via Charleston, I shall proceed to Richmond. I request that my hasty Scrip by Capn. Maguil may be pointedly attended to—. After reading this, which comes along with the General's Dispatches to N. Orleans; be pleased to enclose it to Billy Nous, alias, William Kelsey, Esq<sup>e</sup> whom I must now address.

My Friend, *Fortuna favet Audiatibus*: hence it is, that I meet with entire Success—You recollect the Order which I gave you, attend to it; and in 7 or 8 Months I shall probably thank you for your Kindness over a Bottle, which shall say—? Who'd have thought it". Tell A—r to be of good Chear—: to prepare a Cordial for weary Soul, after effectuating *what* I mentioned to you, which I think will be accomplished in the Time above alluded to—: That Gentleman receives along with you, and one or two others, my Thanks for the friendly Notice which he paid me.

Ambiguity of Expression must satisfy you now;—as prudence forbids a full *Eclaircissement* of *what* you are so anxious to know, see and enjoy. May God speed you;—as King James said to his Hounds; is all that a Heart, deeply interested in your Welfare shall endite by the Hand of

Your Friend

POPE

MIRÓ TO MCGILLIVRAY

July 6, 1791<sup>300</sup>

NEW ORLEANS the 6<sup>th</sup>. July 1791.

No. 4.

SIR: I received your letter of the 8 last in answer to mine of the 29<sup>th</sup> March, & although I was very desirous of writting to you minutely upon every point the bearer being much in a hurry, I am obliged to leave it for an other opportunity; nevertheless there is an observation that I am to make to you, that is, that to acquaint his Majesty as it is convenient, it would be necessary you send me a copy entire, & exact of the treaty of peace, & of the separated articles of it, you should have made; in order that he may judge with property of all this transaction.

You ought not to entertain the least doubt that you will find every seccour and protection in the Spanish Government, & for this very

<sup>300</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).



purpose to have the necessary orders in due time I writte to his Excellency the Captain general; but in the meantime it will be necessary that Indians shall not give the least ground to any just complaint.

I received the information you gave me upon the famous Pope & will make a proper use of it.

I will be more explicit by another opportunity; & untill I should have this pleasure I wish you every happiness being with due attention.

Sir Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. h<sup>l</sup>. servant,

[Draft by MIRÓ]

LE DRU TO DUNEGANT

*August 1, 1791*<sup>301</sup>

SIR: At the time you sent for me, you promised me that you would undertake to secure for me my share of what was coming to each one of us. You have done so in part, but the rest remains to be done. I have received my share in flour; but there is at least half of what I am supposed to get in poultry of which I hear no mention, for, if one gets only seven piastres out of twelve, there must be still five more coming. I do not like their playing deaf to your demands for what you know belongs to me legitimately. You know their obligations towards me. Who better than you, Sir, who have the authority, is able to make them fulfill them? What I am saying here refers only to the unanimous promise made this spring.

Since then the opportunities have been rather frequent, and each day some one comes who would do it gladly, like Monsieur Miveau and Jean Beaudoin, who are soon to come to the village. Besides, if I am not paid, I shall stay at home from now on. This is the last time that I am asking for my payment. People of honor and good sentiments should not thus take advantage of the kindness and patience of a missionary who exposes even his life to go to aid his flock. I am not only surprised but indignant at such an infamous procedure. Most of them do not think it enough to refuse my tithe; they even have the bad faith of refusing my salary. Where is this zeal which they used to exhibit in seeing to the support of a priest? Ah! gentlemen, you must have noticed that your bad conduct has caused my own zeal to cool off considerably.

When you communicate my letter to your inhabitants, I beg you to tell them, for my part, that in the future I shall not give credit for one sou to anybody whomsoever. Most of them are not sufficiently grateful. Is it not shocking that I should have been able to

<sup>301</sup> BL. (French).

pick up in a village like yours only nineteen minots of wheat? I know those who have given them and I shall henceforth come out for those people only. As for the others, I shall answer their appeal provided I receive twelve piastres paid in advance for each trip and two armed men with a carriage. Unless they meet these conditions, it will avail them nothing to come to my house. Some of them think they are doing a great deal by giving me a few bags of corn, and with this as a pretext they fail to give me wheat. Good! Let them think of my animals, but at the same time let them not forget me. You shall be measured as you have measured others, and I warn you that I shall be inexorable towards those who refuse. I have a full note of them at home. With some, I know, it is poverty; with the others, it is ill-will.

I salute you very cordially, and am with attachment, Gentlemen,  
your devoted servant,

LE DRU, Missionary (Rubric)

ST. LOUIS, *August 1, 1791.*

[Addressed:]

To MONSIEUR F. DUNEGANT, Commandant at St. Ferdinand.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*October 5, 1791* <sup>302</sup>

Copy—No. 192.

Your Lordship directs me in your official letter dated May 13th of this year to report to you what quantity of muskets, powder, ball, and merchandise would be necessary in order, through the medium of the savage nations of the neighboring region, to make war on the Great Osage. In consequence of this order I have examined the matter with all the attention that it merits, and, not trusting to my own knowledge, I have acquired the most exact information that I could for the purpose. This, added to the experience that I have daily before my eyes, makes it entirely evident to me that in order to send the savages to war against another nation it is necessary that each man shall have the following articles, some more costly than others. In general each man will need a musket, a blanket, a pair of leggings, a breech-cloth, a shirt, a hatchet, a pound of powder, two of ball, half a pound of vermillion, a knife, awl, flint steel, ramrod, gun-flints, tobacco, brandy, provisions, etc.

Estimated as moderately as possible, at the New Orleans price, the goods and merchandise for each savage who would go to the war would cost at least fifteen to eighteen pesos; and when they

return it will be necessary to give them about as much more, for they will plead that many of the articles given to them at the time of leaving have been broken, lost, or worn out. Consequently a party of 30 to 35 savages who might be sent to the war would cost at least 1000 pesos, and if this party takes any scalps or prisoners it is necessary to increase the price just quoted; and if unfortunately any one of their own number is lost in the campaign, no matter in what way, then it will cost much more for the merchandise which it is necessary to give them to cover the death. At this rate, if only twenty parties should go out in the whole year, it would cost an immense sum since it is necessary at the same time to have some consideration for each village. Even this benevolence would not be sufficient to reduce the hostile Osage; for, of the twenty bands who would go to make war on them, not even ten would come in sight of the Osage. Their taking the field would be with no other object than to get the merchandise, and the song of a bird, or any excuse of this nature, would be sufficient to induce them to return without doing anything. Such is their custom.

The country is not sufficiently populated to employ whites for making war, nor is it in a state to permit the assemblage of the large number necessary to attack the village of the savage Osage. According to the opinion of all those who know the nation, it has at least 800 men able to bear arms. To bring troops from the capital, even though that were possible, would be excessively expensive. Such a war could not be terminated for a long time, for it is necessary to regard the savages of the Missouri as the ancient Scythians, who, as soon as they were warned, would retreat to impenetrable places, or steep mountains. They accomplish this with ease for they are not impeded by baggage or provisions, and the more they would be pursued the sooner would they gain the country which they know from infancy to be the worst. After the pursuers should become weary following them, the retreat would be very difficult, for the savages would ambush them in the places which they know to be suitable for the purpose, so that those making war on them would be placed constantly in great difficulties.

My observations are founded on what I see among our neighbors who are compelled, in order to reduce the savages, to put on the march a body of eight to ten thousand men, infantry and cavalry. Only in this way have they been able to gain this year some advantage over the savages, and still they are compelled to build forts at regular distances in order to secure their retreat. I do not make this observation to Your Lordship because I believe that it is impossible to reduce the Osage by force, for I think it is quite possible, but it is only to give you an idea of what it would cost

to make war on them. To try to reduce them by depriving them of every kind of merchandise, as was done last year, I also regard as very difficult, even impossible, considering the present situation of the country and of their villages which are found at a short distance from the Missouri (as Your Lordship can see by the enclosed map). This plan might give them an excuse to seize the traders who go to trade on this river; besides, the other nations who are on the Missouri and who fear the Osage because of their superiority would not refuse, if the occasion arose, to divide with the Osage the merchandise that they might have. To deprive all the other nations for this same reason would surely give the commerce of the Missouri to our neighbors, the English, who are seeking by every means possible to get possession of it as I have previously brought to Your Lordship's attention.

The only means, and the surest, easiest, and least costly, that I find for restraining the forays of the Great Osage upon the lands of the Arkansas, Natchitoches, and the Caddo rivers, and the robberies of horses which they commit in this region with the Little Osage, is to erect a small wooden fort near their village in the situation most advantageous to dominate it. It is certain that they will allow it to be done without the least difficulty. According to my way of thinking and for many reasons, it would be well to give the contract for the fort to some individual of this country who is capable of doing it and is known to this nation. As this fort will not be very costly it will be easy to find someone who will undertake it. Once the fort is built, it should have in it a garrison of from forty to forty-five men for the first years, with an officer who could recover horses and other property stolen by the Osage, and even restrain by many means those who might commit murders in any part of the possessions of His Majesty. I believe the thing will be very easy for the officer because he would have on his side two-thirds of the nation with the principal chiefs and warriors, who always have disapproved (at least in appearance) of the forays of the others, but have not sufficient authority in themselves to restrain them. But if they see a fort near them, I am more than convinced that those same chiefs and warriors will consider themselves strong enough to arrest and deliver any assassin or thief with the stolen goods. We saw that the thing is feasible in times past when the French, who were sole possessors of the country, were nevertheless compelled to restrain the nations of the Missouri by constructing a fort in the nation of the Kansas. By this means alone they secured the objectives which I explain to Your Lordship, and since that moment they had almost absolute authority over all the nations of the Missouri who have carried out their ideas and have ceased to make forays.

Today, when the Kansas are almost nothing, a fort is indispensable among the Great Osage in order to restrain their piracies and keep them like the others in the submission that they owe to His Majesty. When this fort is once built, it is very probable that a settlement of whites will be placed in its vicinity. I am convinced of this, and I am very sure that this alone can secure the prompt, certain, and permanent tranquillity of the Osage. After Your Lordship has examined all my arguments, I expect that my project will meet with your approbation, and that you will be pleased to forward it to the captain general, so that he may take such measures as he considers desirable. God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLLINOA, *October 5, 1791.*

MANUEL PEREZ

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

WATERS TO PORTELL

*December 5, 1791* <sup>303</sup>

MO. RED RIVER *Decr. 5, 1791*  
on Cumberland River.

No. 1.

DEAR SIR: I arrivd here after a passage of twenty-three days in good Health, found my affairs so derangd as that I could not immediately proceed on to Kentucky as I intended, and now from the Temper of the People there, from their late defeat against the Indians and my Indisposition I shall decline going to that Country for the present. I expect to return to New Madrid in a few weeks—during my absence from this Country lost my Barge which I had bought of I. P. McDaniel was turned adrift by some malicious person and is lost—and the other day a party of the Chickasaws took away my Pirogue which I brought up and have lost her, so that I am in a bad fix for Craft to take on some Beef and Pork which I have bought in this Country—

The Defeat of the American Army agt. the Northern Indians has no doubt reached your ears ere this with all its particulars 700 Americans are lost; The Mountain Leader killd, and all the Artillery & heavy Baggage lost. twas done by Surprize a little before I got here, a Man was kiled in this Nighbourhood, and some Horses Stolen and the people here lay the Blame on our Lans a la Graisse Indians—a few days ago Eleven Horses were stolen from a party of the Chickasaws, and were followd, the Chickasaws say they know them to be Delawares from our Country, and go so far as to point out some particular Indians; these Things happening all together just about

<sup>303</sup> BL, (English).

my Arrival made my feelings a good deal awkward, and made me inquisitive into the Temper of the Leaders of the Banditti here—for they have very little respect to Laws or any kind of Government among them here as I can find when they take any particular Notion in their Heads.—It might not be quite safe for me to commit to paper, what I might further add, and as it is not necessary I should I will omit it—The Chickasaws are still here, & I think bent on mischief to our Country—the People here have got over the first impulses of their Rage and I believe will be quiet for a Season; but I would recommend the Village of Lans a la graisse to be Circumspect as to the Chickasaws.—They do say that they will first go and demand their Horses, but tis hard to know their Intentions I shall watch Motions and if necessary dispatch off a special Messenger to Lans a la graisse—I will be down myself in a few days, when particulars will be fully known. I am barely able to sit up to Write you this, I have a bad Pleurisy—pray good Sir be so good to prevent any Mischief to my affairs at Home & give my Compliments to M<sup>r</sup>. Gray & I hope for his good offices to me and my people—my most respectfull Compliments to your Lady & believe me Sir

y<sup>r</sup>. most faithfull Ser[vant]

R. J. W[ATERS] (Rubric)

When I come down I expect to bring some dispatches from this Country of a public nature respecting the above mentioned Mischiefs of the Indians of the Lans a la Graisse

RJW

[Addressed to:]

THO<sup>S</sup> PORTELL Esq<sup>r</sup> Command:<sup>t</sup>  
New Madrid













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